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"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE RESPONSE OF THE ORACLE.

WE are of those now somewhat unfashionable persons who think that everything should be looked at, in order to be seen as it is, in its own peculiar and appropriate light. He who would accurately distinguish colours must bring them under inspection in the clear and open day. To understand Christianity, and those matters which arise out of and pertain to it, we must not refuse to view them in the sunshine of revelation itself. The moral world has its candle-light as well as the natural—a sort of dim illumination, artificially created—splendour, it is true, in comparison of darkness, but in comparison of day, a faint and feeble glimmer—made up of common notions, prevailing maxims, conjectures of human reason, fanciful and ill-sorted analogies. Men who persist in judging of religious truths and principles by these, are about as wise as those who decide upon the niceties of colour by the aid of a taper. To the impugners of the voluntary principle, who never take it for examination beyond the range of the tritest king-craft, or priest-craft, we say—"Come out from your dark closet into the broad light of day—come to the acknowledged fountain of truth—and we will show you what you so much despise, as it sparkles in the full blaze of the noon-tide sun."

There is nothing unphilosophical in this, we take it. The whole question is about the proper method of supporting Christianity. If this system of religious faith be not what it professes to be, the controversy is at an end. In such case it were worse than vain to debate about the best and most efficient means of maintaining and extending its influence; for if its pretensions be false—if it be not heaven-born—if it be nothing more than the ingenious device of certain Jewish fishermen and tax-gatherers, it is time it were hunted out of the world. But if, on the other hand, Christianity embodies the will of the Supreme—if, wrapped up in its facts, there be aught of practical truth which may serve to guide the footsteps of man to a high and eternal destiny—if it was given him expressly for this purpose, and bears upon it, in characters of light, the unmistakable stamp and superscription of divinity—then, assuredly, it is neither unnatural nor unwise, in determining the fitness of the means to be employed for its promulgation, to consult the oracle itself and to abide by its response. They who cast such unmeasured contempt upon the voluntary principle, even when convinced that that principle is sanctioned by the inspired writings, would do well to ask themselves upon what authority, but the very same which in this matter they hold so cheap, they receive the doctrines about the mode of supporting which our discussion turns. If priests and politicians are so much wiser than the New Testament, in respect of the principle upon which the church is to be sustained, how comes it that they were not wise enough to supersede revelation altogether—and improve upon the sacred records, as well in the substance of the doctrines it teaches, as in the manner of diffusing the knowledge of them throughout the world? Sure we are that their assertions would be as worthy of implicit credence in the one case as in the other.

It is beside our purpose to enter into particulars. Our remarks must of necessity be general, but they may be to the point, notwithstanding. We hold that whatever is worth investigation at all, is worth sincere, impartial, and diligent investigation. The light weapons of raillery may be effective enough in a drawing-room skirmish, or in a parliamentary debate. But we must be excused from surrendering the citadel of truth to the first man who has skill enough to throw the shaft of ridicule against those who man its walls. It is not by such arms that this great question is ultimately to be decided. When the witlings who assail the voluntary principle with banter shall have passed off the stage into the forgetfulness which awaits them, the cause they have aimed to laugh out of the world will engage the thoughts of earnest men, and will assuredly give birth to earnest deeds. The mortal encounter between it and its antagonist may yet be at a distance—it may be also much nearer than external signs would lead us to anticipate. But its day will come, sooner or later—for the world is not destined to be whiffled out of its own independent reason by a handful of priests and statesmen. Therefore we make bold to affirm, that the decision of this question must be undertaken by devout and earnest minds—by men who deem it no derogation from their dignity to inquire before they pronounce judgment—to consult the oracle, and to bow to its response.

For such men we now write. The fluttering triflers to whom truth, as truth, is a matter of utter indifference, need follow us no farther, if, indeed, there be any who have followed us thus far. The course of investigation upon which we design to set our readers will be irksome to all such. We shall not quarrel with them. Let them "gang their gate." Thus, much, however, we will say at parting. If, on any future occasion, they are tempted to sneer at the absurdity of the voluntary principle, we bid them recollect that the voluntary principle is absurd to them chiefly because they durst not venture down to inspect the solid foundation of it. Their judgment is on a par with that of the mole—who being constituted umpire between the eagle and the sparrow, and undertaking with the pert forwardness of ignorance to declare which soared the highest, decided for the sparrow simply inasmuch as the eagle flew out of sight.

Is it too much, then, to demand of grave-minded and serious inquirers, who are filled with doubts as to the efficacy of the voluntary principle, and who hear on every hand jests leveled at its inadequacy, that they should take up the written records of Christianity itself, and without attempting to pervert specific passages from their obvious design, to make themselves as conversant as may be with their general tone and spirit? We shall not dogmatise upon this subject, but we venture to remark that as men become more and more familiar with the soul of truth which looks out from those pages, as they grow in intimacy with the inner heart of Christianity, and acquaint themselves, if we may so speak, with its more delicate shades of character, and read more and more correctly the secrets of its mind—the unobtrusive things which must be looked for with earnestness and perseverance by those who would find them—they will not be more alive than formerly to the ridiculousness of the voluntary principle. Christian willinghood will not then appear to them, more distinctly than heretofore, to be out of harmony with the gospel of peace—the jokes of parliamentary debaters and the ponderous axioms of solemn bishops, will not tell more effectively upon their minds, in consequence of familiarity with the truth disclosed in scripture. The urim and thummim will not sparkle with unwonted glory, in response to the sneering taunts of state-paid clergymen, at the utter madness of leaving religion to the voluntary principle. The image at whose shrine the inquirer bows will not smile approval, moved thereto by the prevailing maxims of the day. On the contrary, we presume to believe, and believing to assert, that this principle, being brought thus often within the circle of that light which emanates from the Bible, will appear no such quixotic thing as some men would have us to believe. There is a noble generosity about it—a fervour, and a faith, which make it no unmeet companion for Christianity herself. As we listen to the latter speaking her sublime message, and delivering her benevolent and tender counsels, we cannot but be sensible that the tones of her voice, equally as the burden of her commission, are in sweet unison with those of the former. We look from the one to the other, and we see no dissimilarity; and the more we know of the one, the more kindly we are disposed to regard the other.

So much, we believe, must be admitted by every intelligent mind which has made the experiment. Were the voluntary principle as unsound and contemptible as public men are wont to represent, thorough investigation of it by the light of Christianity would only serve the more effectually to expose its pretensions. The oftener it was taken into the neighbourhood of inspiration, the more absurd it would appear. The closer its contiguity, when examined, to the massive elements of thought imbedded in the word of God, the punier would be its apparent dimensions, and the more laughable its pretences. But it is not so. Every one will allow that successful banter cannot be practised upon the voluntary principle on the other side of the fence which separates between things secular and sacred. It may limp upon the ground of state expediency, just as the swan may walk most awkwardly upon earth; but upon the surface of revelation, it sails in graceful majesty—proving that that is its proper element, and that there only it is to be seen to advantage.

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SCHEME.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—On Thursday evening a public meeting was held at Kingsland chapel, for the purpose of considering what measures should be adopted for opposing the government education bill. The attendance was not very numerous. George Offer, Esq., of Hackney, occupied the chair, and opened the business with a few remarks on the nature of this new attack on the principles of civil and religious liberty. The Rev. Mr Cox then proposed the first resolution, bringing forward various facts attesting the rapid increase of Puseyism in the country. Mr Green followed, and was warmly applauded while repudiating wholly and entirely, as destructive of liberty of conscience, the interference of the state with the religion or the religious education of the people. He discussed various clauses of the Factories bill, pointing out parts of it, which though injurious in the extreme to the rights and liberties of the subject, had not generally engaged public attention. Though complicated and difficult to be understood in all its parts, it was the most perfect, the most artfully contrived machine that had ever been set in motion for subverting those principles which the constitution of this country has hitherto acknowledged. The Rev. Mr Aveling still further examined the details of the bill, pointing out its insidious but not less dangerous provisions. After a few words from Mr Clarke, Mr Edward Miall addressed the meeting. The chairman, he said, had asked him to show what authority the government possessed for inflicting so fatal a blow upon the liberties of the country, and he would frankly state that he believed that it was entirely owing to the guilty supineness of dissenters—to their unfaithfulness to their first principles. Dissenters and dissenting ministers were alike guilty; and he looked upon this Factories bill as a just punishment to them for their treachery to great truths. Their principles they had buried in the earth, and had allowed a worldly, calculating, unmanly subserviency to the world to usurp their place. It was so at the present moment, and even this last great attack on their liberties had not been sufficient to awaken them from their lethargy, to induce them to cast off that slavish love of aristocracy that was the greatest enemy to their principles. What says the Congregational Board of Dissenting Ministers on this new attack on the principles of religious freedom? Here is their first resolution on the subject:—

"That this Board is deeply impressed with the importance of giving the children in factory districts a useful and religious education in accordance with the principles of civil and religious liberty."

Did not that imply a state education? If not, why introduce it, or why say "in accordance with religious liberty." There is no other possible conclusion to be drawn from the resolution than that that board does recognise the duty of the state to provide for the religious education of the people. If dissenters do then admit this principle, why complain of the Factories bill? It is nothing more than the carrying out of a principle they themselves acknowledge to be sound. He really thought dissenters deserved the bill. Their treacherous neglect of their principles had not only rendered this attack practicable, but had actually invited it. And they deserved it, and far worse—and far worse they would have before long. Much had been said of the fearful increase of Puseyism. Why, after all, it was nothing more than church-of-Englandism. It has been existing ever since we had an establishment. The only difference is, that what was before hidden and worked silently, has now come out in blossom. The blossom was not more poisonous than the bud. He was glad to see the loathsome disease which had been inwardly festering, had come out on the surface, and exposed itself to the light of day. He would rather see Puseyism in the state church than evangelical churchism; for the final cure is only further postponed by a small proportion of good being mixed up with what is radically and essentially bad. Now, he would suppose that in the concoction of this bill, the intentions of government were really pure and benevolent—were, in truth, such as the Home Secretary professed them to be. He would suppose, now, that Sir James Graham, having effectually quieted the manufacturing districts by the soldiery, and having dutifully attended the Queen on her visit to the north, had retired within himself to think how he could confer the blessings of education and enlightenment on the toiling sons of industry. Well nigh bursting with the noble sentiment that filled his bosom, what preparations would he have made for the great work—with what patience and diligence would be have examined and weighed the matter—how he would almost have agonised to produce something that might answer to the large principles that burned within him—that might serve best to benefit the unhappy country whose sad condition occupied all his thoughts. He would suppose then that, entertaining these views—being fired with such holy enthusiasm as we may imagine inspired the bosom of Luther or of Raikes—the result of all this effort and sincere concern for the poor was the production of

the vile bill now before them? Why, did not the whole thing speak for itself. Did it not bear upon the face of it the most palpable, the most disgusting hypocrisy. Educate the poor! in morality! in religion! He would first say, let them educate themselves. Were they patterns of morality? Were there not to be found among their numbers many whose characters would, in virtuous society, discard them for ever from its rank. Aye! but they were burning with concern for the religious destitution of the poor. Religion! When any one of them would not hesitate to fling defiance in the face of his Maker, by holding a pistol to the head of his fellow-mortal, and taking his life for what he may call his honour. Such are the men who are burning with zeal for the moral and religious education of the people! And then they look on and laugh, and think how they have gulled the saints. What think these men of religion—of pure and undefiled religion? They laugh and mock at it, employ a chosen armoury of cant phrases to show their contempt for it and its professors. Sincere attachment to its principles they look upon as quixotic, and suffering for conscience' sake as almost evidence of unsound mind. When, when will the world, and especially the religious world, see this odious hypocrisy—the enormous cheat that is put upon them! Such are the authors of this Factories bill. Who are to be its agents! The church, who had until lately shown themselves the bitterest enemies of education. He then went on to inquire into their fitness for the work of teaching the people religion; referred to their education at Oxford and Cambridge, and the manner in which they were entrusted with the spiritual interests of a parish. He pitied these deluded men, thus trained by a system so disastrous to their interests, and the well-being of the community, and entreated them to let fall their indignation on the system, not on the men. He had endeavoured to expose the hypocrisy of the whole affair, and characterised the bill as a measure intended to crush dissent. He firmly believed that the bill would pass, and that far worse measures would ere long be adopted. To those, therefore, who are indifferent to their principles as dissenters, he would say, conform at once to the church. It was their policy, it was their interest, to do so. Did they not now make their peace with the state church, the days were coming when the threat of persecution would make them glad to do so. But to those who still felt the value, the greatness of their principles, he would say, come out from the world, and take a firm and determined stand by them, and manfully assert them on all occasions; and should they be called upon to suffer in their behalf, they would suffer on behalf of the truth—for a cause for which illustrious men had heretofore bled and died. There was but one lawgiver in the church of Christ—and to him alone was due the homage of their hearts. Mr Scoble followed, ably carrying out the views of the preceding speaker, in reference to state interference with religion. He lamented that dissenters were not only unwise and unprincipled enough in acknowledging that interference, but they had done, and were now receiving the pay of the state in support of their British and national schools. It was afterwards resolved that a petition to parliament should be adopted against the bill, embodying a protest against the inteference of the civil power with the religious principles and education of the subject. After a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting separated.

METROPOLITAN.—Numerous meetings have been held during the past week, in opposition to the Government Education bill. On Thursday night, a numerous and enthusiastic meeting took place at the Eastern institution, Commercial road, Colonel Fox, Esq., M.P., took the chair; and besides Benjamin Hawes, Esq., M.P., and C. Hindley, Esq., M.P., many of the leading dissenting ministers and dissenters of the metropolis were present. So numerous was the attendance, that it was found necessary to hold a second meeting at Stepney chapel school rooms, where a large portion of those unable to gain admission, and several of the speakers retired. At the former meeting, Colonel Fox, Mr Hawes, Dr Reed, Mr Ewart, Mr Hindley, &c., spoke in denunciation of the bill. At the latter meeting, of which the Rev. J. H. Hinton was chairman, an equal enthusiasm prevailed. The same resolutions were adopted at each place. They denounce the various provisions of the bill, but are silent as to the real principle of it.

METROPOLITAN COLLEGIATE ASSOCIATION.—At a meeting of this association, held on Friday, a series of spirited resolutions against the principle of the measure were adopted.

THE WESLEYANS.—We hear, with satisfaction, that the education committee of the Wesleyan conference have, after most mature deliberation, unanimously passed a series of resolutions strongly condemnatory of the Government bill, though recognising the importance of religious education. The resolutions, which are to be laid before Sir James Graham, express an opinion that the bill cannot be mended, and therefore request that it may be withdrawn, and a measure on just principles, recognising the rights of all religious denominations, prepared for the next session. If this request should not be complied with, the Wesleyans will petition against the bill throughout the connexion, and use all their influence to defeat it.—*Leeds Mercury.*

EASTERN DISTRICTS.—Meetings have been called, and petitions adopted, in various towns in the eastern counties, during the past week. At Stowmarket a meeting of Sunday school teachers has been held, and petitions, denouncing the bill, adopted. The dissenters of Yarmouth have held a preliminary meeting, at which a committee was appointed to make arrangements for a public town meeting to be held this evening, and to prepare petitions. The Colchester Sunday School union have taken measures for securing petitions from the whole of the East Essex district against the bill. Petitions have also been forwarded from almost every dissenting congregation in Ipswich.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—On Wednesday a numerous meeting of the members of the Newcastle and Gateshead Sunday School union was held in St Paul's chapel, Blackett street. The principal speakers were the Revs W. Campbell, G. Bell, and Messrs J. F. Grant, D. H. Wilson, &c. Resolutions condemnatory of the whole bill were passed. On one of these an amendment was moved, suggesting a clause into the petition against the palpable intention to place national education under the control of the Puseyites. This was objected to on the ground that they were opposed not merely to the appointment of Puseyite, but of any class of clergymen, established or dissenting, to the control of popular education. The amendment was afterwards withdrawn. It was resolved that a public meeting of the inhabitants should be held on the 11th inst, to denounce the bill. Petitions have already been forwarded from most of the dissenting congregations.

DERBY.—The healthy nonconforming spirit evinced at a meeting held in St Mary's Gate chapel on Thursday last, deserves a longer notice. The meeting was held for the purpose of calling attention to the subject of the Factory Education bill, and to adopt a memorial from the females connected with the various dissenting congregations in the town, to her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, praying her to withhold her royal assent from the measure, should it pass the two houses of parliament. Mr George Stevenson having been called to the chair, stated the object of the meeting in a neat and lucid speech, and then called on the Rev. J. Corbin to propose the first resolution. The resolution was to the effect that the bill involves a violation of parental rights; the speaker, in moving it, observed that it was the duty of every parent to educate his own children, or to see that they are educated; and that it is his undoubted right to choose what kind of education shall be given them, and in what manner, and by what persons it shall be given. This duty is untransferable, and this right is inalienable. No power on earth is justified in invading this right, and thus preventing a parent from the discharge of a duty imposed on him by the law of nature and the precepts of the Bible. This the Factory bill proposes to do. If a parent wishes to educate his child at home, and that child works at a factory, the bill says—You shall not do it; you shall send your child to receive its education at one of the law-established schools, or that child shall no longer be employed in a factory. And so if a parent wishes his child to be educated at a private or at a public school, he will be compelled to take that child away, or forfeit its work as soon as ever that school has been pronounced "inefficient;" and that might be done, and probably will be done, in any case where the master refuses to teach his pupils all the anti-scriptural dogmas of the Oxford heresy. The Rev. J. G. Pike seconded the resolution. He concurred in the sentiment of the resolution, and in those of the preceding speaker. He had hitherto been in the habit of seeking to promote the salvation of souls, and had left the establishment alone; but if this bill passed into a law, he should feel it to be his duty to expose its errors, and to do what he could to remove so great an obstacle to the spread of Scriptural truth and civil liberty. The Rev. W. F. Poile moved the second resolution, which embodied the principle that religion is a matter between man and his maker, and that, when civil governments, as such, interfere with it, they leave their proper province and invade the rights of conscience. In the course of his speech the speaker showed the fallacy of the oft-refuted argument in favour of establishments of religion, drawn from the Jewish theocracy; and animadverted on the conduct of some who, professing to be dissenters, act as though they thought all cause for dissent was removed as soon as there was an evangelical clergyman in the church. The character of the men in the church is an accidental circumstance, and does not at all affect the principle of an establishment. The Factory Education bill is founded on the assumption that civil governments have a right to legislate on religion, and to enforce their enactments on this subject by fines and penalties; and hence it ought to be resisted most strenuously by all who are conscientiously opposed to that principle. Addresses were afterwards delivered by the Revs A. Smith, — Morgan, and J. Gawthorne. The memorial was agreed to, and the resolutions unanimously carried.

MANCHESTER.—A crowded meeting of the teachers and friends of Sunday schools was held in the Corn Exchange, Manchester; Mr Alderman Callender in the chair. The Chairman said that—

"From the age of fourteen he had been more or less connected with Sunday schools, and next to the ministers of the gospel he knew no class who did more good than Sunday school teachers. He considered himself as representing 200,000 teachers, who were imparting religious instruction from to one and a half to two millions of human beings; and, therefore, he regarded this meeting as one of the most important that could be called together. The bill was neither more nor less than a declaration of war against all dissenters throughout the kingdom. If it passed in its present form, it would be declared that all their schools as at present conducted were inefficient; and they might be closed, the teachers sent about their business, and the money spent in building would have been thrown away."

Most of the speakers spoke out manfully upon the principle, tendency, and intentions, of the bill. The Rev. Joseph Davis said—

"It was an old trick of the enemy of truth, who, when he could not crush Christianity to death, persuaded the governments of the day to turn nurse, that they might nurse Christianity to death. Just so the church set up Dr Bell, in imitation of and opposition to Joseph Lancaster; and just so they exclaimed against the danger of sending young men to London, to a university; but when they found they could not prevent it, they sent young men to London too, and set up the King's college. Now, at last, when they found that they could not compete with the dissenting schools, they brought this bill forward, to destroy every dissenting school. It was to destroy the voluntary principle. This was a proposition for compulsory Sabbath school teaching."

The Rev. J. W. Massie said this was only the first of a series of meetings of this kind—the Manchester Sunday school union. Next Monday evening there would be a special united meeting of congregations of evangelical dissenters of Manchester and Salford, in Grosvenor street chapel. Yet another meeting would be held, at which the catholics would join them; and he hoped that that meeting would be held in the Free trade hall. Mr Davis intimated that there would be another public meeting next week, as the baptist congregations wished to join in opposing the measure. Mr Griffiths then read the petition, which was based on the resolutions. Mr Thomas Coward moved a resolution, approving and adopting the petition; to be sent to the borough members, with a request that they would support its prayer. Mr J. M. Wells seconded the resolution; and said he opposed the bill, because he held that no government had any right to teach the people religion; because it gave the clergy a power which none ought to possess; because of its exclusive tendency; and because it denied the right of the parent to send his children to the school he thought best. The Rev. Dr Halley, in supporting the resolution, said that the spirit of Christian liberty which animated the puritans was still living, and animating thousands of hearts; and the Sunday school teacher was the Samson to carry the gates of Gaza up the hill of victory. From this bill came a good influence, uniting and strengthening dissenters to resist every attempt on their civil and religious liberty. Quench our Sunday schools, and you quench the eye of our churches, and paralyse the arm of our ministers; but he would not say, "Dissent is in danger." There was no danger. He could not agree with Mr Morris, that this bill would be easily floored. He referred to an article in the April number of the *North of England Magazine*, which he said was advocating the teaching of a religion not based on scripture, but going no further than natural theology. He denounced such a system; and he denounced the principle no less than the details of the bill. The resolutions were all unanimously adopted.

BRADFORD, YORKSHIRE.—The adjourned meeting of the Sabbath school teachers of Bradford was held in the Temperance hall, on Tuesday evening, April 4th, 1843. The hall was crowded, and it is calculated there were 1500 persons present. The Rev. James Acworth, A.M., president of Horton college, presided. There were also present, the Revds Walter Scott, T. Pottenger, J. Glyde, J. G. Miall, and other friends. The Rev. J. Glyde explained the educational clauses of the Factory bill, after which Mr Byles, publisher of the *Bradford Observer*, proposed a resolution, stating that the objections of the meeting to the bill were grounded on its tendency to injure dissenting Sabbath schools. Mr L. Morgan then proposed the following amendment, viz.:—

"That this meeting, deeming all objections based upon expediency as defective, resolves that no government has a right to interfere in religious matters."

Messrs Cook and Horner, of Horton college, and the Rev. T. Pottenger, ably supported the amendment. The Revds J. Glyde and J. G. Miall opposed it (the latter conceded the principle involved in the amendment, but deemed it mistimed). The Rev. W. Scott spoke energetically against the bill, gave it as his opinion that the amendment was in order, and said that his own opinion was in accordance with it. The mover of the amendment and of the original motion having replied, a show of hands was taken, which gave a large majority for the amendment. The announcement of the president was received with great applause.

DUDLEY.—On the evening of Monday, the 27th ult, a public meeting was held in the school room of the independent chapel, in King street, to consider the bill lately introduced into the house of Commons for the education of the working classes. The meeting was one of the most numerous that has been held in Dudley for some time past. It was composed of persons of every denomination of Christians, and the most perfect unanimity prevailed. The Rev. Mr Dawson took the chair, and after a judicious and appropriate speech, the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs Palmer, Galloway, and Hill, and Messrs C. Twamley and Blackwell. A series of resolutions were adopted, and it was agreed that a petition founded upon them should be presented to the House of Commons, condemnatory of the bill, which appeared to the meeting to involve a flagrant violation of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and to be calculated to break up, if not altogether extinguish, the existing schools supported by voluntary contributions.

FROME.—On Tuesday evening week, a public meeting took place at the large Wesleyan chapel, Frome, relative to the education clauses contained in the bill now pending in parliament. The chair was taken by John Sinkins, Esq., who addressed a highly respectable and most attentive audience in a very forcible speech, and was followed by the Rev. Messrs Middleditch, Griffith, Jones, Edwards, and Leask. Resolutions were passed, and a petition adopted, condemning the oppressive nature of the prepared measure, and which will be presented to parliament by Wm Gore Langton, Esq., M.P. The meeting was attended by nearly 2,000 persons, and it is fully expected that the petition will be signed by treble that number.

BATH.—An overwhelming meeting of the committee, teachers, and friends, of the Bath Sunday School union was held last week, for the purpose of denouncing the educational clauses of Sir James Graham's bill. It was held at the Rev. William Jay's, Argyle chapel, and in a short period from the commencement was densely crowded. Nearly 2,000 persons are supposed to have been present, and a truly noble feeling of unanimity and fraternal love was manifested by the different speakers. The Mayor, John Edridge, Esq., occupied the chair. The speakers were the Rev. D. Walton, and S. D. Waddy (Wesleyans), J. C. Davie (independent), J. Owen (Lady Huntingdon), Wappel, and Stephens (baptists), Captain Stuart, Messrs Hancock, Jacob Titley, and J. H. Cotterell. Such a meeting has not been held in Bath for many years. The eloquence, firm determination, and knowledge of the subject, displayed by the rev. speakers, both astonished and gratified the numerous audience; and one feeling of honest indignation at the daring and insidious measure, pervaded the meeting. Its proceedings, which commenced at half-past six, did not terminate till ten. The mayor, before the close, received a requisition that he would call a city meeting, which he at once promised to do.

BERMONDSEY.—The following is a copy of a petition from the working men's church, Bermondsey:—

"To the Honourable the House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

"The petition of the undersigned members of, and attending upon, the working man's church, Dockhead, Bermondsey,

"Showeth—That your petitioners consider a state-paid church, and the episcopal church of England as such, a pension establishment for men whose character and talents unfit them for obtaining a livelihood equivalent to their expenditure in any honest calling.

"That this pension establishment has professedly for its object the propagation and the preservation of a certain creed, and a certain ceremonial; and that both these are, in the opinion of your petitioners, in direct opposition, in many important particulars, to the Scriptures of divine truth, and consequently are injurious to the spread of true Christianity, and are favourable to the diffusion of infidelity, by representing as Christianity what is not Christianity.

"That your petitioners have further read with indignation the particulars of a bill lately presented to your honourable House by Sir James Graham, by which it is proposed to erect another pension establishment, under the form of schools, in which the church of England creed and the church of England ceremonial are to be drilled into the infantile minds of factory children, thus warping their minds in early life by statements and views which your petitioners believe to be in direct opposition to truth.

"That as this bill, thus formed, contemplates a violation of the rights of your petitioners' consciences, tends to establish a new form of religious despotism, and, in its provisions, exacts from the parent that he shall be a witness against himself and his own children, besides containing many other inquisitorial, and harsh, and insulting requirements, your petitioners pray your honourable House not to be seduced into the condition of giving your sanction to the requirements of this insulting and conscience-violating measure.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

HULL.—The Hull association of the Religious Freedom society held a special meeting on Tuesday evening last, when, it being considered that the establishment of factory and pauper schools under the exclusive superintendence of the church clergy, but at the expense of the whole community, is unjust to dissenters, prejudicial to their week-day and Sabbath schools, and contrary to civil and religious liberty—it was determined to petition against the proposed measure. The committees of the Dock-green and Holderness-road British schools and the Hull Sunday School union have also determined to petition against the measure, and it is expected that most, if not all the dissenting congregations in Hull will do so too. It was proposed that the resolutions adopted by the Religious Freedom society should be advertised in the local papers, the *Patriot* and the *Nonconformist*. The latter was objected to on the ground that it advocated "another subject," viz., complete suffrage, and it was decided by about 20 to 5 that it should be left out.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.—In the county of Huntingdon the spirit of opposition to this iniquitous bill has been roused. Seldom have such meetings been held, as assembled on Tuesday, the 28th of March, at St Ives, and on Monday, the 3rd of April, at St Neots. In each case the meetings were attended by an unusually large number of persons belonging to different denominations. Petitions are also being prepared from nearly every congregation in the county.

BEDFORDSHIRE.—Sir James Graham's bill is to be vigorously opposed by the dissenters of the county of Bedford. There was a meeting at the Old meeting house, Bedford, on Tuesday evening, Blyth Foster, Esq., in the chair, when it was resolved to send petitions from all the congregations in the county against the bill. It is calculated that thirty petitions will go up.

LANCASHIRE.—In nearly all parts of this county and district, petitions are being prepared or are adopted against the educational clauses of this bill. In Rochdale, Bury, Bolton, and many other places, public meetings have been held this week on the subject, and condemnatory resolutions passed. The Wesleyan methodists, as well as the dissenters, are expressing their strong disapproval of the measure, and their determination to oppose it by every legal and constitutional means.—*Manchester Times.*

MISCELLANEOUS.—The foregoing present tolerably fair specimens, and they are only specimens, of the spirit and character of the meetings held in opposition to the government education scheme. To give even a summary of the meetings held throughout the country would be as impossible as it would be unnecessary. *Ex uno omnes disce.* The Congregational union of Lancashire met last week, and adopted a petition to parliament, to be presented by Lord Francis Egerton, denouncing the bill, and praying that it may be rejected. The students of Blackburn academy have done likewise. Meetings have been held at Kingston-on-Thames, by the baptists, independents, and methodists; in the neighbourhoods of Cosely, Staffordshire, at Merthyr Tydvil, at which arrangements were made for further agitating the subject throughout the districts; at Oldham; Newton, Devonshire; Amersham, Bucks; Ashburton, Barnsley, Trowbridge, Westbury, Huddersfield, Birmingham, Southampton, Southsea, Salisbury, Warwick, Bedworth, Dukinfield, Braintree, &c. Besides meetings and adoption of petitions at the same, petitions are being signed and forwarded from Chard, Keighley, Queenshead, and Wilsden, Yorkshire; Tipton, Staffordshire; Alversthorpe, by persons of all denominations, churchmen included; Cheddar, Somersetshire; Mountsorrel; and from methodists, dissenters, and catholics, in Edinburgh.

SUDBURY.—CHURCH RATES AGAIN.—This town seems likely to become as famous for its resistance to ecclesiastical oppression, as it has formerly been notorious for political corruption. For several weeks past we have from time to time recorded the determined opposition of its nonconforming inhabitants to the payment of church rates. The conflict is not yet at an end, and though the property of many of its inhabitants has been seized and sold for the odious impost, the list of recusants is not yet exhausted. We find, from the *Suffolk Chronicle* of Saturday, that during the past week the property of no less than twelve persons has been seized, the total value of which amounts to no less than £35 18s. 0½d.! The whole sum due for the rates amounts to £8 0s. 9½d., affording another striking instance of what priestism will do when the law allows—the property amounting to more than *four* times the value of the rates. We are proud to think that Sudbury—a town hitherto noted for nothing but its corruption—can number among its citizens so numerous and sturdy a band of consistent, self-sacrificing nonconformists. Were dissenters throughout the country imbued with as uncompromising a spirit, church rates would soon follow the fate of tithes in Ireland.

THE SCOTCH KIRK.—The proceedings of the church, preparatory to the meeting of the General Assembly, continue highly interesting. In the presbytery of Dumfries a separation has taken place between the moderates and the non-intrusionists on the question of the *quoad sacra* members, and both parties have elected representatives for the Assembly, as in the case of Irvine, with this difference, that at Dumfries the moderates were the majority, and kept possession of the court house. Even in the celebrated presbytery of Auchterarder, where the first stand of the non-intrusionists was made, a great conversion has taken place on the prospect of a separation from the endowments; and by the renegades clubbing their votes with the moderates, a majority has been formed, and representatives returned in support of the principles of the latter. From our reports of the proceedings at the meetings of the presbyteries of Paisley and Greenock, the representatives of which were elected on Wednesday, it will be observed that the minority of moderates contented themselves with protesting against the votes of the *quoad sacra* members, but allowed the election to proceed in both cases, when a leet of picked convocationists, or rather separationists, were in both cases elected by a great majority of the members. Preparatory for a separation, and we believe with the view of affording the inhabitants of this place (Paisley), who take an interest in church matters an opportunity of hearing the leaders in the cause, a public meeting was held in the high church, ostensibly for the purpose of forming a Young Man's association. The principal speaker of the evening was Dr Candlish.

"We were much gratified with the meeting, both as regarded its respectability and the approach to sound voluntary principles so ably advocated by Dr Candlish. In the course of his address Dr Candlish maintained 'that the civil magistrate ought to be left at perfect liberty to judge for himself in spiritual matters. For himself (Dr C.) he would say let the civil magistrate state on what terms he would keep up the establishment, and then he would be ready to say, on what terms he would remain in the establishment. He contended that the civil magistrate was bound to protect person and property, but nothing more. He was not at liberty to interfere with spiritual matters. He (Dr Candlish) also held the principle of resistance to tyranny; and the moment the civil magistrate traveled beyond his jurisdiction and interfered further than with the protection of person and property—the moment he interfered with, or attempted to have jurisdiction over other men's consciences, then he was guilty of tyranny, and ought to be resisted. The civil magistrate could not interfere with conscience except by interfering with person and property, and when he did so, he was guilty of persecution, and that was a portion of the book of discipline which he hoped churchmen of modern times were not now prepared to follow.' These are good sound voluntary principles, which we are ready to support and say amen to; and although Dr Candlish, by contending for the right of the civil magistrate to interfere with wicked ministers when they were to be found in the church, laid down principles which appeared rather inconsistent with the doctrine we have just quoted, yet perfection at the first is not to be expected; and with our kindest regards we wish Dr Candlish and his colleagues to go on improving in voluntary church principles, as they have done for the last two years."—*Abridged from the Renfrewshire Reformer.*

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE KIRK.—The government has, it is understood, intimated to its adherents among the patrons, that they had better be prepared to present in case of any secession.—*Aberdeen Herald.*

Correspondence.

IMPORTANCE OF MOVING FOR THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I think the occasion offered by the introduction into parliament of the Factory Education bill is a fitting one for taking steps of a public nature on the subject of church disestablishment. Principles are at all times the same, but circumstances are availed of by the wise to diffuse and realise them. Such a juncture is the present; and I think one efficient mode of combating this bill would be by assembling public meetings wherever practicable, for the purpose of adopting resolutions, and so presenting before a now unthinking and half-informed public, notions of a specific and unmistakable character on the matter of religious establishments, to be followed, of course, by petitions to parliament, not less plain-spoken, praying the abandonment henceforth of all impertinent interference by the civil government, on a domain too sacred for them to invade; and, as a necessary consequence, that the existing or any form of connexion between the episcopalian or any other sect, and the state, should at the earliest moment, consistent with equitable arrangements in regard to present holders, cease and determine.

We know that the best way of meeting an unjust aggression is by advancing a just one, rather than by keeping simply on the defensive, when your principles cannot find fit utterance, and I am convinced that had dissenters adopted this policy during the last seven years, Oxford would have had less time to send forth her modern-antiqueism; and church extensionists would have been fully occupied in fighting for the unjust advantages already in their possession, instead of benefiting as they have by the craven tactics of dissenters, to grasp at additions thereto. "Oh! reform it altogether."

The attempt to confer upon children a religious education by law, is so intimately allied to the system of Christianising adults by act of parliament, that a victory over either cannot but affect both. W.

THE FACTORIES BILL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—Pray do urge upon the parties who are competent to the task the propriety of drawing up, and leaving at different respectable offices, shops, and other places of thoroughfare and resort, petitions for general signature against the Factories Education, &c., bill. I am a liberal; but not being a dissenter I have not been able to petition (as I doubt not is the case with thousands in this great metropolis beside myself) for want of public opportunities, such as I beg leave once more most earnestly to suggest. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Inner Temple, April 7, 1843. A BARRISTER.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

I am truly glad to observe the decided stand on sound principle taken by the *Nonconformist* against the government education bill, so monstrous in its leading features that even some of the most time-serving of the dissenting body seem aroused to a sense of its evils.

But many of these, to whom the liberal portion of the British public have entrusted the leadership of their affairs, are so compromised by their party political subserviency to the late administration, that I fear they are in great measure disqualified from acting with that vigour and independence which the present emergency demands.

Even the British and Foreign School society did, in my opinion, somewhat compromise the strictly voluntary principle on which that excellent institution was established, by receiving money from government; and this was rendered more obvious from similar grants having been at the same time made, out of the funds of the nation, for the schools of the establishment.

When I was in Jamaica in 1837, I had much conversation with the missionaries on this subject, in consequence of considerable sums having been at that time recently voted in aid of education in the West Indies. Many of them agreed with me in opinion that such grants from the public purse not only violated the voluntary principle, and would most likely paralyze it, but were an infringement of the rights of conscience, as many would be taxed to support systems of education inculcating religious tenets to which they conscientiously objected.

I had afterwards the pleasure of learning that several of the baptist missionaries, and one, at least, of the independents, refused to avail themselves of any of the government aid.

The standard of great and important principles is so often lowered under specious pretexts for promoting any good cause we may have at heart, that I confess I would rather the measure lately brought forward should pass into law, with all its original deformity, than that it should be made in some of its details more palatable to dissenters, whilst retaining its unsound principles. Such measures as these must surely open the eyes of the most supine of the middle classes to the peril of their situation, and prove to them that the nation is at the mercy of an oligarchy determined to trample upon our civil, political, social, and religious liberty.

I am, respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 4th month, 8th, 1843.

RELIGION FOR THE LOWER CLASSES WHO ARE NOT SOLDIERS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I am not much of a politician, but I now and then get hold of a newspaper, and on such occasions, the most striking facts to me are the incongruities in the conduct of public men. I observe that Lord Ashley lately moved in the house of Commons, "for an address praying her Majesty's immediate consideration of the best means for diffusing moral and religious education among the working classes." He drew the attention of the House to the present state of crime and ignorance, in some populous districts, among the lower classes. Drunkenness, cursing, &c., were frightfully prevalent among the youth—they knew no religion, no God. Now, I recollect that a few years ago, when Sir Peregrine Maitland, commander of the forces in Madras, resigned his office, because he could not conscientiously take his part in the public countenance given by the British government to Hindoo idolatry; the Duke of Wellington said, in the house of Lords, "that he did right to resign, and that men who have nice notions about religion have no business to be

soldiers." Most of us who know anything of the army and navy, and have read the accounts of their late wicked and barbarous proceedings in China and Affghanistan, must acknowledge the truth of the Duke's observation. We must, therefore, come to the conclusion, that soldiers, and all who are intended for the army and navy, are not to be included in the proposed system of moral and religious education. This, perhaps, would be very consis tent, and, to those who consider soldiers as necessary, satisfactory. It might be supposed, from the discussion which followed Lord Ashley's motion, and the unanimous resolution to which the House came on the subject, that they were under the influence of Christian principle; but the following sentiment, reported to be uttered lately by Sir R. Peel, in the house of Commons, "that he hoped the House would not enter upon a topic so dangerous as the conformity or nonconformity of any particular mea sure to the doctrines of Christianity," prepares us for the inconsistent and anti-Christian measure of a vote of thanks to the fleet and army, who have destroyed so many thousands of their fellow-creatures in Asia; and for the following vote of supplies, to maintain the anti-Christian system of war, for the ensuing year.

39,000 men for the sea service, wages	£1,259,697
100,846 men for the land forces, at a charge of	3,619,327
General staff officers	165,301
Officers, military department	88,075
Royal military asylum	13,606
Volunteer corps	117,787
Unprovided services of former years	1,373
Rewards for distinguished services.....	14,451
General officers not being colonels of regiments	89,000
Full-pay for retired officers	64,000
Half-pay of officers.....	457,000
Half-pay, foreign officers	55,925
Pensions to officers' widows.....	140,760
Compassionate list.....	118,000
Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals, &c.....	1,239,498
Retired allowances, public military department	41,000
	£7,485,800
And, for the expense of the naval establishment, at home and abroad, half-pay officers, &c., &c.	6,275,684
	£13,761,484

To those who are unacquainted with fashionable phraseology, it is difficult to understand these discrepancies; but as I have in my possession a little work written some years ago, by a pious and ingenious clergyman, which afforded me a clue to the language of those called the great, I will make a short extract from it, for the benefit of others. He says: "I verily believe, that if the whole nomenclature of fashion were examined from beginning to end, scarcely twenty words would be found, which in passing over to the regions of fashion, have not left their native and customary sense behind them. In support of this observation, I shall cite a brief extract from a private memorandum, which I had originally made with a design of constructing a fashionable glossary.

Vernacular Terms.	Fashionable Sense.
Conscience.....	Something to swear by.
Courage	Fear of man.
Cowardice	Fear of God.
Duty	Doing as other people do.
Economy	(Obsolete.)
Enthusiasm	Religion in earnest.
Religion	Occupying a seat in some church or chapel.
Truth	(Meaning uncertain.)
Honour	The modern Moloch, worshiped with licentious rites and human victims.
Vice	Only applied to servants and horses. &c., &c., &c." N.

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—In my former letter in reply to "Observer," I furnished statements from the printed reports of the society, showing that the contributions received from the public are devoted to the gratuitous circulation of religious truth, without any deduction whatever for agency; and that, in addition thereto, an annual sum exceeding £2,000 has been contributed to the same object from the trade funds. This information, I doubt not, has satisfied the friends who have so long and so generously supported the cause, although it appears not to have removed the difficulties of "Observer."

Now "Observer" finds that the society does not avail itself of the public subscriptions to compete improperly with the trade, and that his charges in reference to their misappropriation are unfounded, one fact as to which he was a stranger brings him again forward as the antagonist of the society—viz., the annual donation of a large sum out of the trade funds to the society's gratuitous objects. He does not regret, as a friend of the institution would do, that he had acted under wrong information in his former statements, but professes his anxiety to know if all the profits are properly devoted, and whether the society's business is well conducted. He therefore calls for the production of documents connected with the institution, which every man of business will feel could not with propriety be produced. Justice to authors, contractors, and others connected with the operations of the society, would prevent this. All these matters have been delegated to the elected committee, who are responsible for the faithful administration of the trust reposed in them. If they administer the funds according to the society's rules, then such trust has been discharged. The fourth rule directs them "to employ the subscriptions as a means of enabling the society to distribute and sell tracts at a cheap rate." The only charge that can be brought against the committee on this rule is, that they have done more than has been required of them, for they sell the tracts at a cheap rate, without appropriating one shilling from the gratuitous funds in the attainment of that object.

No person, particularly an anonymous one, has a right to make general charges against an institution, and then call upon its committee for information to enable him to support them. If "Observer" is a subscriber, let him make clear and specific charges, and then he may call for a reply. If he possesses information which leads him conscientiously to believe that the society is unwisely managed, and its funds improperly appropriated, his manly and Christian course would be to seek an interview with the committee, and I am sure he would meet with a courteous reception, notwithstanding his insinuations against them, and I doubt not all the information he can properly require would be cheerfully furnished.

The pages of a newspaper are not a convenient channel for the examination of public accounts. I will, therefore, in conclusion, only remark that the whole of the society's receipts, and their appropriation, are given in the society's annual report, to which I refer "Observer" for information on several points noticed in his last communication.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,
W. JONES, Corresponding Secretary.

[We ageee with Mr Jones that a newspaper is not a convenient channel for the publication of accounts—and as we find by our "religious intelligence" that "Observer" has had an opportunity of obtaining all the information he requires from an authentic source—a public meeting having been held in the town from which he writes, at which the Corresponding Secretary of the Tract society was present—we decline any further controversy on the subject through the medium of the *Nonconformist*.]

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Church of England, for extension of, 5.
Corn laws, for repeal of, 85.
Colonisation, for, 8.
Ecclesiastical Courts bill, against, 39.
Education (Ireland), against, 2.
Factories bill, against, 579.
——— for limiting hours of labour in, 24.
Malt, for repeal of duty on, 4.
Maynooth college, against further grant to, 12.
Mines and Collieries act, against repeal of, 10.
——— for amendment of, 3.
Property tax, for repeal of, 1.
Registration act, for repeal of, 3.
Roman Catholic Relief act, for repeal of, 1.
St Asaph and Bangor, against union of, 3.

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Applotment of Rates (Dublin) bill.
2. Testimony in Colonies bill.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Testimony in Colonies bill.
2. Supply.—£4122, criminal lunatics; £6500, inspectors of prisons; £64,535, law expenses in Scotland; £61,449, criminal prosecutions in Ireland; £31,400, police of Dublin; £5596, convict depot in Dublin; £83,954, convicts at home, Bermuda, and Gibraltar; £300,000, convicts, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land; £50,000, education, Great Britain; £50,000, education, Ireland; £2006, professors, Oxford and Cambridge; £4548, university of London; £7380, universities of Scotland; £8928, Roman Catholic college in Ireland; £300, Royal Irish academy; £300, Royal Hibernian academy; £5600, Royal Dublin society; £1950, Belfast institution; £32,576, British museum; £37,485, British museum buildings; £5275, British museum purchases; £1600, National Gallery; £2008, museum of economic geology; £4000, scientific works and experiments.
3. Ways and means.—Resolved, That, towards making good the supply granted to her Majesty, the sum of £9,050,000 be raised by exchequer bills, for the service of the year 1843.

MOTION.

Colonisation.—Motion made, and question proposed, "That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will take into her most gracious consideration the means by which extensive and systematic colonisation may be most effectually rendered available for augmenting the resources of her Majesty's empire, giving additional employment to capital and labour, both in the United Kingdom and in the colonies, and thereby bettering the condition of her people:"—(Mr Charles Buller:) Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words, "the resources derivable from the lands, manufactures, and commerce of the United Kingdom, if fully brought into action, are adequate to afford the means of giving employment and supplying food to the whole population; and that, therefore, before any measures be adopted for removing to foreign lands any portion of that population, it is the first duty of this House to take into consideration the measures necessary for the better application of these resources to the employment and support of the people," instead thereof:—(Mr Sharman Crawford:) Amendment and motion, by leave, withdrawn.

DEBATES.

Thursday, April 6th.

COLONISATION.

Mr C. BULLER brought forward his motion for an address to the Crown, to consider the means by which extensive colonisation might be made available for employing capital and labour. He referred to the circumstances of the times, and urged the necessity of providing a remedy for the prevalent distress. Of that distress the cause had been supposed to be over-production, but this over-production was temporary, and should be considered rather as the effect of distress, than as the cause of it. The great permanent cause of distress was the accumulation of capital and labour, without a proportionate expansion of the field for their employment. The want of a legitimate field induced wild speculation; and that speculation failing, again aggravated the distress. The difficulty of finding employment for labour was still greater than that of finding employment for capital. In all the liberal professions the competition was excessive! and men of education now engaged in occupations which formerly their pride would not have suffered them to enter. Among tradespeople, a similar pressure was felt, and the manufacturing poor were reduced to undertake employments utterly destructive to their health and to their morals. There had been, within the present century an addition of several millions to our population; and agriculture had not assisted to absorb any part of that increase. Any extensive change of fashion, any shifting of the seat of a manufacture, any great invention in machinery, brought distress and destitution the most afflicting. Now, in the United States there had been a longer period of pressure than in England, and yet the results had not been nearly so severe.

Had we heard of what we should call distress among the quiet traders and artisans? Of any inability to employ capital with ordinary profit? Of any general want of employment for labourers? Of any great depression of wages? Or of anything which we should call the extreme of destitution? Had ever the unscrupulous demagogues of their hustings or their press ventured to describe such sad scenes as those which official inspection had shown to have been but too frequent at Bolton and Stockport? Had they heard in that country of human beings living huddled together, in defiance of comforts, of shame, and of health, in garrets and in cellars and in the same hovels with their pigs? Had they heard of large and sudden calls on the bounty of individuals, of parishes, or of the government?—of workhouses crowded?—of even the gaol resorted to for shelter and maintenance?—of human beings prevented from actually dying of starvation in the open streets, or of others allowed to expire from inanition in the obscurity of their own dwelling places?

It was probably true that the condition of the people had gone on improving for centuries; but though this was the progress from one period of ten or fifteen years to another, yet in many of those periods there were seasons of greater distress than had ever been known to our fathers. The same state of things, too, which was formerly deemed a state of comfort, was now, from the change in the general habits, deemed a state of privation. The general standard of men's expectations was higher than in the days of their fathers; and the evil was further aggravated by the comparisons which the poor now made between their own condition and that of the rich. We could not tread this volcanic soil much longer with impunity.

If humanity did not induce us to do our utmost in this object, a more politic view of our own interests would compel us; for, depend upon it, that the people of this country would not bear what they nsed, and that every one of these periods of distress was fraught with increasingly dangerous effects on the popular temper, and with an increasing peril to the interests of property and order; and if it were meant to keep government or society together in this country, we must do something to render the condition of the people less uneasy and precarious than it now was. He spoke plainly, because nothing but harm seemed to him to result from the habit which we had of concealing the apprehensions which no man of reflection could contemplate without entertaining.

The first great remedy was the education of the people; but that alone would not suffice: you must secure to your labouring poor what the insurgents of last summer demanded—"a fair day's wages for a fair day's work." With this view he proposed—not as the only remedy, but as one remedy among many—a colonisation which should have the effect of enlarging the field for the employment of capital and labour. Such a colonisation was strictly compatible with other remedies, and even subsidiary to them.

He proposed colonisation as subsidiary to free trade, as an additional mode of carrying out the same principles and attaining the same object. The advocates of free trade wished to bring food to the people. He suggested, at the same time, to take the people to the food [hear, hear]. They wished to get fresh markets by removing the barriers which now kept us from them throughout the world. He asked the House, in addition, to get fresh markets by calling them into existence in parts of the world which might be made to teem with valuable customers [hear, hear].

The allotment system had its benefits; but he could conceive no greater mischief than that large bodies of the people should cease to work for wages, and rely exclusively upon allotments. Again, free trade was an important remedy; but colonisation would work more speedily and more independently of the caprices of foreign countries. It would call forth the resources of every climate, soil, and sea; and each one of your settlements, when, in process of time, it should become emancipated from the parent state, would retain a taste for your arts and manufactures, and continue to be your customer, though it ceased to be your colony. When Abraham and Lot found their substance so great that the land could not hold them, they parted—one to the right, and one to the left—and sought new and unoccupied lands. He was aware that it would be very difficult to keep down the surplus population of a country like England by mere exportation; to do this effectually, you must carrry out 200,000 persons yearly; but some direct relief would be obtained by the simple removal of burdensome families; and the indirect advantages would be most important. Those who were paupers here would become producers in the colonies, and their produce being sent hither to be exchanged for yours, would give employment to your manufacturers; so that emigration would not only get rid of the paupers exported, but relieve from pauperism the labourers left behind. How great a proportion of the existing prosperity of our great northern towns was owing to the emigration which had settled America!

If the United States had never been settled, and the emigrants had stayed at home, did any one think it possible that the population of the United Kingdom would have been larger by 13,000,000 or 14,000,000 than it now was—that was, that they should have had and maintained in as good a state as now, 40,000,000 of people within these two islands? Was there any reason for supposing that they should now have had an additional means of supporting the addition of the original emigrants? Nay, was it not absolutely certain that, without colonising the United States, this country would not at this moment have been able to maintain anything like the population which at present found subsistence within the limits of the United Kingdom? How large a portion of that population depended on the trade with the United States, which constituted one-sixth of our whole external trade! Without that trade what would have been the size, and wealth, and population of Manchester, and Liverpool, and Glasgow, and Sheffield, and Leeds, and Birmingham, and Wolverhampton—in fact, of all our great manufacturing districts?

And if this consequence followed from an emigration thus destitute of plan and system, what benefits might not be expected from an emigration systematically conducted! At this very time the three great ranges of colonies, North American, West Indian, and Australian, occupied one-third of all our shipping. He stated, from commercial returns, the comparative consumption of British goods by the different nations of the world, and showed that the consumption per head among the colonists of Britain was at least four times as great as the consumption per head among her European customers.

Spain took of our goods 9d. per head for her population; our worst customer among her old colonies, Columbia, took four times as large a proportion, whilst her colony of Cuba took no less than £1 4s. 4d. per head, being at the rate of more than 30 times as much as Spain. Our civilised neighbours in France took to the amount of 1s. 4¼d. per head, while Hayti, composed of the liberated negro slaves of that same France—Hayti, which it was the fashion to represent as having become a wilderness of negro barbarism and sloth, took 5s. 4d. per head, being four times as much [hear, hear].

If there were an unsettled region like Australia, separated from this island by a sea no wider than the Menai strait, would not the government long since have built bridges at many different points to connect us with it? The only difference was that the Atlantic rolled a wider channel of separation. The great

objection thus presented was expense. Now capitalists would willingly carry out labourers, if useful labourers could be found for exportation, and when exported, be retained in the exporters' service; but until lately, the labourers as soon as they arrived found it easy to get gratuitous grants of land, and quitted the master who had taken them out to become cultivators on their own account. The improved system of later days, which was now known by the name of its inventor (Mr Wakefield), had superseded this evil. The two main features of it were—first, the sale of the land by the colonial governments, and the application of the proceeds to the introduction of labourers; and secondly, the selection of the young and able-bodied in the mother country as the individuals to be taken out. The natural consequence of the first of these principles was, that the labourer, being unable for want of funds to take land for himself, would work for those who possessed it; and the natural consequence of the second principle was, that the mother country was relieved of the class who crowded her labour market, and continued to aggravate the excess of her population. The United States had realised great sums by the sale of land, but they had neither the same extent of territory which belonged to the British Crown, nor the same wealthy purchasers for it who were to be found in the British empire. If we had improved our "Far West" in the way in which they had improved theirs, the words "destitution" and "distress" would have been as little familiar in this country as they were in America. But it would not be enough to send out mere hordes of paupers. A colony should contain the various orders and degrees of the mother country; it should be an epitome of the parent state. He was not about to propose any specific plan.

So far from proposing compulsory emigration, he should object to holding out to any man any inducement to quit his country. On this ground he deprecated anything like making emigration an alternative for the union workhouse [hear, hear]. He was very dubious of the propriety of even applying parish rates in aid of emigration. His object was that the poor of this country should be accustomed to regard the means of bettering their condition in another part of the empire as a great boon offered them, not a necessity imposed on them by government.

After bestowing some humorous castigation upon the misrepresentations of this question made by Mr Cobden at Drury lane, he entered into some considerations respecting the principle upon which the purchase-money of colonial lands should be raised; he questioned the expediency of applying any part of that price to any other object than a supply of labourers; and he inclined to recommend guarantees by the mother country for the interest of loans, to be advanced by capitalists to the colonies on the security of the land funds, and applied in the exportation of labour. He would now leave this subject in the hands of the responsible servants of the Crown. The effects of his remedy might not be immediately felt; but it must ultimately extend the resources and the basis of the national welfare.

Lord Ashley seconded the motion.

Mr Sharman Crawford moved by way of amendment—

"That the resources derivable from the lands, manufactures, and commerce of the United Kingdom, if fully brought into action, are adequate to afford the means of giving employment and supplying food to the whole population; and that, therefore, before any measures be adopted for removing to foreign lands any portion of that population, it is the first duty of this House to take into consideration the measures necessary for the better application of these resources to the employment and support of the people."

He objected to the motion on various grounds. And first, it withdrew people's minds from the main evil.

He perceived that in the present state of society there was a continual accumulation of wealth on the one hand in the hands of the few, while on the other the great mass of the people were starving. That was one great symptom of the evils the country was suffering. He did not approve, therefore, of an address to her Majesty which would deceive her if it represented that the distresses of the people were to be relieved by emigration; and which was, in fact, but an apology for bad measures, and an excuse for the continuation of bad legislation [hear].

He thought also other remedies nearer home were available—the allotment of land for example.

From authentic documents he had collected that the lands of England and Wales, now cultivated, and improvable wastes, were computed at 32,640,000 acres: taking the number of able-bodied men and families necessary on the average for the general labour and improvement of these lands, at six men to each 100 acres, the number of men and families required would be 1,920,000, or in round numbers 2,000,000. If, then, the lands had been cultivated as stated above, the whole population employed at that time both in manufactures and agriculture would have been solely absorbed by agricultural labour alone. Upon the subject of the occupation of land by the labourers he would go further than the hon. and learned gentleman, for he was of opinion that the only mode of relieving the country was by bringing back the working man upon the land, and giving him as much as would afford him an independent amount of support.

A further remedy for the distress of the country would be a free trade in corn. Great relief also might be derived from a reduction of the public expenditure of taxation—

The taxes were at present an enormous burden upon the people. There were various means of reducing them. One method he should suggest was the reduction of the present military expenditure of the nation. At this present moment we had no less than 55,000 men on home service. He should like to know the use of such an establishment as that? By reducing a force, for which there would be no necessity, were it not for bad legislation, they might, let them bear in mind, relieve the country of £1,000,000 per annum in the shape of taxes.

He could not accede to the hon. member's views concerning the advantages of emigration. The hon. member had read reports which set forth the benefit of emigration to our colonies, but in his (Mr Crawford's) opinion, we only injured ourselves by conferring such benefits, inasmuch as the exclusive protection of colonies must necessarily be an injury to foreign commerce.

Mr Feilden seconded the amendment.

Mr Gally Knight admitted that Mr S. Crawford was actuated by humane motives, and believed that all who came within the sphere of his care shared in his kindness. But he could not conceive how any rational man could condemn colonisation on proper principles, by which the emigrant was enabled to carry with him his customs, associations, laws, language, and could breathe as freely in Australia or New Zealand as in this country. He was of opinion that systematic colonisation would be best carried out by being undertaken by the government.

Lord Stanley said, that this motion was one which came recommended by many considerations to those members who were not well acquainted with the actual state of things. He differed from Mr Buller, not as to his principles, for there was, and long had been, an extensive colonisation in progress under the sanction and conduct of the government, but as to his proposal of an address, which he thought would excite undue and exaggerated expectations. He would separately explain the state of things with respect to the two great classes of colonies. And first as to those of North America. Formerly the poorer classes of emigrants, after suffering from the extortions and discomforts of the outward passage, were set adrift upon the quays of Quebec wholly helpless. There was now a government board of two commissioners, most able and industrious officers, who furnished information in this country to all persons desirous of emigration, and a number of government agents who gave instruction and protection at all the outports; and, when the emigrants arrived in Canada, other government agents received them there, and provided them with all requisite information, with a temporary supply of food, and with a free passage to such parts of the interior as they might respectively be desirous of reaching—

What would the House suppose has been the total amount of emigration from this country in the course of the last few years? Recollect, I am speaking of voluntary emigration; not emigration paid for by the government, but merely superintended, controlled, and protected by the government. The total number of emigrants to all our colonies, during the last few years, is no less than 246,936. Is not that extensive emigration? What is the emigration to Canada alone? It was in 1839, 17,439; in 1840, 22,000; in 1841, 28,000; in 1842, 44,374. That is the extent to which emigration is carried from this country to the single British province of Canada. At what expense to the country has this large amount of emigration been poured into the colony, and planted in the spots which the individuals were desirous of occupying? The total amount paid by this country for defraying all the expenses connected with emigration, including all the salaries of officers, is £12,388. At this moderate cost all the advantages of superintendence to which I have adverted are secured to 44,374 emigrants, being at the rate of about 5s. 8d. per head.

If you were to announce an intention of giving free passages to emigrants, you would paralyse all the exertions of individuals to defray their own charges; and you would injure the labourers already exported, by causing a sudden increase in the number of their competitors for employment, already swelled by a great and still progressive influx of skilled labourers from the United States, where employment has now become scarce.

In addition to the 44,374 persons who went from this country to Canada last year, it has been ascertained that no fewer than 6,000 emigrated from the United States into the colony in search of employment. Nay, more than that, it appears that from the port of New York alone, in the course of the last year, 9,900 persons, who were unable to find employment, emigrated, not to Canada, but to this country.

The class, too, of English labourers most desirable for such a colony was the agricultural class; but those were just the persons whom it was no relief to this country to send away, and the manufacturing labourers, whom it might be some relief to dispose of, would be poured out upon our unsettled colonial lands only to perish. He declared an emigration scheme published by Mr Buckingham to be visionary and impracticable; and referred to an experiment which had been made some years ago by the government on the recommendation of a committee, but which had proved to be very expensive and very unsuccessful. He, therefore, was not disposed to interfere, at the public expense, with voluntary emigration. He, was, however, surprised that small capitalists had not more extensively passed over to our North American colonies, where he believed that people of moderate means, persons of the middle classes, might enjoy a greater share of the comforts of life than, perhaps, in any other region of the globe; though, probably, those colonies did not afford a field for large speculations. He would now consider the circumstances of the Australian colonies. Mr C. Buller had asked whether, if a region like Australia were separated from England only by a narrow strait, bridges would not be built by government? Why, yes. But would not a toll be demanded? In Australia the land sale system was in operation; and he should be sorry to see it interfered with, considering the vast progress which that colony had made under it, within the last few years, in population, commerce, and revenue. He should oppose the original motion, and move the previous question upon the amendment.

Lord Howick admitted that the Emigration board had done a good deal toward the object of colonisation; but he thought it incumbent on the government to institute further measures, and suggested a committee, or a commission, for inquiring into the means by which emigration might be assisted.

Sir R. Inglis considered an English colony to be very imperfect, unless it comprised not only English people, but English institutions. He dwelt particularly on the importance of accompanying all colonial foundations with religious establishments.

Mr Hume apprehended that the hon. baronet had fallen into the mistake of supposing this to be a question of church establishment. He seemed to want a bishop for every colony; forgetting that New England had been founded by men running away from bishops. He considered Lord Stanley's speech as "sound throughout," and likely to be very useful in checking extravagant expectations. What he liked was something practicable; and the way to make colonies prosperous was to give them a good government, to let them have a share in it, and satisfy everybody. He saw no great hope that relief to the present distress could be obtained from emigration; for emigrants by thousands were coming home again. The true way to relieve distress was to open our ports to the commodities of all nations. That was what Sir R. Peel ought to do—the state of the country was worse now than it had been when the right hon. baronet entered upon office.

Lord Francis Egerton hoped that whatever attempts might be made at colonisation would be duly accompanied with a due proportion of civil and religious establishment. He had heard this discussion with greater interest than he could attach to those stormy debates which brought more crowded houses.

Lord John Russell could not support so large a resolution as that proposed by Mr C. Buller. If the mover, or the government, were prepared with any feasible plan, the case might deserve a different consideration; but in the absence of any specific suggestion he could not consent to excite the large expectations which must follow such a vote as was now asked from the House. Mr Hume had expressed a desire for something practicable; but he feared the notion of so governing a colony as to "satisfy everybody" was anything but a practicable suggestion. On the whole, he believed the best course would be to leave this important subject in the hands of the ministers. He believed that the present distress, however severe, would not be permanent; and he was persuaded that the energies of this great country would bear her through this trying emergency.

Sir Howard Douglas spoke at some length, amid a good deal of interruption. He urged particularly, and with great earnestness, the necessity of providing our settlements abroad with religious and with medical assistance.

After a few words from Mr Stuart Wortley,

Mr C. Buller shortly replied. He had hoped that his argument had been so framed as to exclude the danger of those fallacious hopes which Lord Stanley had expressed so much apprehension of exciting. After all which had passed, however, he did not wish to divide the House, and asked leave to withdraw his motion.

Mr Sharman Crawford hereupon consented to withdraw the amendment likewise, and thus the discussion closed.

Friday, April 7.

SUPPLY.

The House having gone into committee, proceeded with the miscellaneous estimates. Several votes were passed without opposition.

On the estimate of 50,000*l.* for national education in Ireland,

Mr Shaw rose to make some remonstrance. He had no objection to such a provision for the education of the Roman catholics as should treat with entire respect the religious opinions of that body; but he thought that at least a similar respect was due to the opinions of the protestant clergy and people. It was very fit that the Roman catholics should not be compelled to read the Bible at large, but it was not fit that the state should educate protestant children without devoting any part of its funds to religious education according to the faith of the protestant church. The Irish system, as a system of united education for all denominations, had not succeeded; and he trusted that another year would not elapse without removing from the nation and the government the reproach of neglecting the religious instruction of the protestant children of Ireland.

Mr Grogan supported these opinions. He observed that Sir James Graham had, by his Factory bill, evinced his persuasion that religious education was due from the state to the children of the poor in the manufacturing districts of England. Why was not that principle to be applied to Ireland also?

Lord Eliot defended the present mode of protestant education in Ireland, and showed the great increase of schools and scholars under it. The Roman catholics were eighty per cent. of the whole population, and it was a great point gained that they had consented to accept the education offered to them by the state.

Lord Ebrington said he had examined that volume of extracts from the scripture which was used at the Irish schools with the consent of the Roman catholic clergy, and he thought it wholly free from any just objection.

Mr Hawes thought, that on the same principles on which he supported the claims of the dissenters to a provision in England for religious education according to their own faith, he was bound to support the claims of the protestants to a provision for church education in Ireland.

Lord Bernard, though he thought the Irish education system a signal failure, could make allowance for the difficulties in which the government were placed by the acts of their predecessors in office. He objected to a grant for any national education of which the scriptures were not the basis. The church of England was entitled to something more than a neutrality, which indeed was injurious to the children themselves, as leading them to the inference that if all religions are of equal regard, none can be of any great importance.

Mr Hamilton, concurring in the objection to the want of specific provision for the protestant faith, yet felt the inconvenience of discussing such a subject upon a vote of supply; and announced his intention to bring it forward at a future time as a substantive question.

Sir R. Peel said, that the difficulty of departing from the course of the late government would not have induced the present ministers to adopt this principle of education, had they not believed it advantageous to Ireland. There were now almost three thousand schools at which Roman catholic parents, trusting that you would make no attempt at proselytism, consented to accept education for their children from a protestant government. Before

the establishment of the present system, the teachers at Irish schools were for the most part violent bigots, and the books not merely of a useless, but of a dangerous character. The view now taken by those of the clergy who opposed the existing plan was a new one. He cited a report made some years ago by a commission, which was composed of protestant bishops and other eminent persons, almost all of them opponents of the Roman catholic claims; and produced extracts from it recommending the very principle of union upon which the present system was constituted. But it did it not follow, because those authorities recommended the principle of a compromise under the peculiar circumstances of such a population as the Irish, that the same principle would be equally applicable in England.

Mr Sharman Crawford expressed his approbation of the national or combined system, which in the north of Ireland worked well.

Mr Lefroy regretted that the government had not deferred to the feelings of the prelates and clergy of the established church, and given a separate grant to the Church Education society.

After some remarks from Mr Vernon Smith,

Mr Hardy indignantly denounced the system from whose course of education the Scriptures were entirely excluded, and all essential distinctions in doctrine confounded.

Lord Eliot denied that the Scriptures were excluded; on the contrary, the children were habitually rendered familiar with them by the extracts which were regularly read.

Mr Kemble had examined these schools during a visit to Ireland; and though he saw much that was commendable, he could not allow their claim to the title of "National." The scriptural extracts were only recommended to be read, not insisted on.

After a little further conversation the vote was passed.

Next came an estimate of £2,000 for professorships in the two universities. Mr Hume objected to grant that money until it should be made apparent that the universities had not adequate funds of their own, more especially as the dissenters were excluded from those establishments. Mr Goulburn said that these were grants originally made from the crown's hereditary revenues, and now that the revenues had been transferred to the public the charge had been transferred with them. He did not believe the House would refuse such a sum to bodies which had done so much for the advancement of science and learning. Mr Hume doubted whether the universities, or any other monopoly, had produced any public good. Mr Goulburn preferred the practice to the precepts of Mr Hume, who had sent his own son to Cambridge. Mr Hume admitted this, but said he would willingly have paid his share toward the professorships rather than have saddled that expense upon the public. The vote was then passed.

On the estimate for Maynooth college, Mr Plumptre, in a few words, declared his intention of dividing against it. Mr Cochrane said he meant to bring the whole subject of this college before the House by a substantive motion after Easter. He would for the present observe, on the point of public faith to Ireland, that the very fact of this grant being annual was conclusive to show that the public faith did not stand pledged to its perpetuation. The committee divided, affirming the grant by a large majority.

Sir Robert Peel moved the annual grant for the British museum. He said that there had been in the last year an increase of 220,000 visitors, a striking proof of the advancing intelligence of the public. Mr Hume thought the government ought to have a share in the management. He wished to see a weekly committee of control. He objected to the present exclusion of children under eight years of age, and desired more numerous days of admission. He would let in the public on a Sunday, after morning service, for at those hours when the gin-shops were tolerated the museum ought surely to be allowed a little competition. It was a great object to withdraw the people from places of drunkenness. Sir R. Peel said that the government were not quite so much without influence in the management of the museum as the hon. member seemed to think. There were six cabinet ministers who were trustees *ex officio*, and the First Lord of the Treasury, who was one of them, would always have a very considerable weight by reason of the very grants thus annually renewed. Mr Hume pressed the great importance of cheap catalogues. He had printed at his own expense, for the sake of the public, a penny catalogue of the National gallery, and great numbers of copies were instantly bought. He wished to extend the freedom of admission to other public places, particularly cathedrals. At present they could be visited gratis only on a Sunday, and they were so visited accordingly to the disturbance of divine service. Chantrey had become a sculptor from the impression made upon him by a visit to Westminster abbey. Sir R. Peel gave great credit to Mr Hume for having printed the catalogue. He fully agreed in all that had been said about admission to cathedrals. He had pressed the new Dean of Westminster, at the time of giving him that preferment, to exert himself for increasing the facilities of public admission. Sir R. Inglis said that Poets' corner in Westminster abbey, was open to the public without any charge, and that only small fees were required for admission to the other parts of the edifice. After a few remarks from Lord Palmerston, Lord Francis Egerton, Mr Acland, Colonel Wood, and Dr Bowring, the vote passed.

Monday, April 10.

VOTERS REGISTRATION BILL.

This bill having been read a third time, Lord C. Fitzroy proposed to add a clause for giving every man a vote who should be rated to the parish, under 6 and 7 William IV., upon the gross estimated rental of £10. Sir James Graham said, that if that statute had come into general operation, he should willingly have agreed to this proposal; but it was a statute which had been so partially and imperfectly adopted, that he could not consent to take it as the foundation of a new test of franchise. The gallery was cleared for a division, but the mover withdrew it without dividing.

Mr Colvile moved a clause to provide for the case of a real voter tendering his suffrage after personation of him by an impostor. The hon. member proposed that in such circumstances the returning officer should enter the vote with the words "tendered vote" in the margin of the polling book, but should not count it in casting up the poll. Some conversation arose on the legal effect of this clause; but as the Solicitor and Attorney-generals expressed approbation of it, the clause was added to the bill by way of rider, as were one or two other additions.

Sir Thomas Wilde then called attention to the provision of the bill giving to the court of Common Pleas an appellate jurisdiction on the subject of disputed votes. He pointed out what he considered to be the inconvenience of giving the appointments of the revising barristers to the judges; such a patronage had a tendency to destroy the independence of the bar, and therefore to injure the interest of the public, so far as an independent bar was concerned; and he objected to bringing the elective franchise within the jurisdiction of a court of law at all. The preservation of its jurisdiction was essential to the existence of the House; let them once part with their right, and it was gone for ever. Sir Robert Peel's bill for the trial of controverted elections had not yet received a fair trial; it was capable of great improvement. At all events he thought it was too grave a matter to be disposed of in the present manner; it ought to be made the subject of a separate bill, and so receive a more deliberate consideration.

Sir J. Graham said, the learned gentleman had been one of the law advisers of the Crown when the late ministry introduced a bill for registration in Ireland, providing an appeal from the revising barrister, not even to a superior court, but to a single judge upon the circuit. It had been complained that, under the present bill, the barrister might refuse to grant a case for appeal. Should he do so, the whole matter, of law as well as of fact, would remain open to the determination of an election committee. Highly as he valued the present judges of the Common Pleas, his reliance was not so much on their personal characters as on publicity and the check of the bar. He admitted that the existing constitution of election committees was open to improvement, but he could not concur in the opinion that this bill was an abandonment of that tribunal. These clauses had met with very general approbation from members belonging to all political parties. Sir T. Wilde, with all his objections to judges, recommended the introduction of legal assessors; but these must be appointed, either by a majority of the House, which would be a party appointment, or by the Speaker, which would bring his high office and character into question.

Lord J. Russell protested against the House relinquishing those privileges and powers for which it had so long struggled.

The Solicitor-general contended that there was nothing given up by this bill which could be considered as an abandonment of the privileges of the House; it was merely carrying out an original intention of the Reform act, only substituting as the court of appeal the four judges of the Common Pleas, instead of three revising barristers.

After a few words from Mr Hume in support of the clause the House divided, and the motion of Sir Thomas Wilde was rejected by 102 to 26. The bill then passed.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS BILL.

On the motion for the second reading of this bill, Sir R. H. Inglis said it was the destruction of ancient institutions—proposing at one fell swoop to extinguish no less than three hundred and eighty courts, some of them coeval with the conquest. Clerical and lay peculiars were to be destroyed, and the changes in the proving and custody of wills were not justified by any necessity. After reviewing, at some length, what he considered would be the effect of the various alterations contemplated by the bill, such as that it was a deliberate step towards the separation of the church from the state, the destruction of the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c., he concluded by moving that it be read a second time that day six months.

Sir James Graham would press this measure on the consideration of parliament, because he was firmly convinced it was for the public interest. No judicial change had ever been proposed on higher authority, ecclesiastical, judicial, and legislative. The highest legal functionaries had given their opinion that the expense of probate of wills would not be greater in London than in the country; while the convenience of centralising the custody of wills where all the great disputes on property were mainly adjudicated upon, were advantages of prime importance, and of the great public utility of which they were convinced, even though they admitted that some private interests might be affected by it. In this spirit, the government would neither withdraw the bill, nor refer it to a select committee, but leave it to the House to decide at once on its principle, and they would view its rejection with the regret which their conviction of its importance involved.

Mr Jervis contended that the bill perpetuated, instead of reforming, the monopoly and abuses of Doctors' Commons. He strongly objected to the centralisation of wills in London; and as for the registry, if that were all that was required, they had already all the machinery at the Stamp office, in the collection of the legacy duty. The most objectionable parts of the criminal jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts were retained by the bill, as the bishops' courts, with the trials for schism, heresy, brawling, &c.; while the increase of salaries and patronage to the functionaries in London, and the necessary withdrawal of the more respectable practitioners from the country, rendered the measure as objectionable on private as on public grounds.

Colonel Sibthorp protested against this addition of salary and patronage to the practitioners of Doctors' Commons, who were already rich enough and idle enough. The bill was an infringement of vested rights, and of the rights of the people.

After some further observations, the debate was adjourned.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Financial Statement.—On Friday Lord John Russell requested some early explanations from Sir R. Peel respecting the state of the country's finances, and of the commercial treaties now in progress. Sir R. Peel promised that a financial explanation should be given soon after Easter. With respect to the state of the pending treaties of commerce, he declined to say more than that he was not disposed to make reciprocity in all cases a *sine quâ non*. There was a natural jealousy among foreign nations of the commercial superiority of Great Britain, which placed her under considerable disadvantages in any negotiation upon commercial subjects. He was even doubtful whether or not it was politic to pursue too far the system of negotiating for reciprocal concessions, instead of pursuing an independent course. Mr Labouchere expressed his satisfaction at this latter statement. Treaties of navigation and commerce were very good things, but negotiations for tariff reductions were comparatively valueless.

Church of Scotland.—Mr Hope Johnstone inquired, on Thursday, whether government intended to introduce a bill to settle the doubts respecting the jurisdiction of the church of Scotland? Sir James Graham considered the questions of law settled by the *dicta* of the Lords in the judgment on the Auchterarder case, and in the debate on Lord Campbell's resolutions. Government adhered to the terms of his letter to the Moderator of the General Assembly, and had no present intention of introducing a bill on the subject.

Government Education Bill.—Lord J. Russell, on Monday evening, laid on the table a series of resolutions on the subject of education, a copy of which we have given in another place. He said he intended to defer the consideration of them until after Easter. Sir J. Graham said that he had not had an opportunity of considering the resolutions, for, indeed, until he had now heard them read, he had no cognisance whatever of their nature. However, from the good tone and right feeling which had marked all references to the subject hitherto, he had good reason to hope that they would receive a calm and dispassionate discussion. Since the second reading of the bill he had had the opportunity of hearing the opinions of many deputations and of receiving various suggestions as to its provisions, and it would be the duty, as it was the inclination of himself and his colleagues, to give to those suggestions the most calm and dispassionate consideration. He was not prepared at that moment, nor would the House expect him, to enter into any statements as to what might be the modifications which he should have to propose in the details of the bill; but, from what had already taken place, and from the tone in which the subject had been already discussed, he had a confident expectation of being enabled to propose many material alterations in it.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, April 6.

Cotton and Wool Duties. — Lord Monteagle moved for returns showing the amount of cotton and wool imported during the last seven years, and the duties paid thereon. He deprecated the duties as taxes on raw material. The ill effect of the duty of 5-16ths on cotton is not to be measured by the money payment, but by its operation in the several stages of the manufacture, and by the facts that much cotton is now exported in the half-manufactured state of yarn and twist, and that in the declared value of cotton goods exported, there was a falling off of £3,610,570 between 1840 and 1842. The French manufacturer receives more in bounty on the export than he pays in duty on the raw material; the English manufacturer has no bounty. The exports of cloths made from foreign wool have fallen from 352,000 pieces in 1833, to 104,000 in 1840; those made from English wool from 760,000 to 604,000. He would reduce the tax from 13 to 5 per cent, in conformity with the principle of the new tariff, that duties on raw material should be only 5 per cent. The Duke of Wellington defended the duties, on the score that £800,000 of revenue cannot be spared; but, with some amendment, and extending them over ten years, he agreed to the production of the returns.

The Dogs bill was thrown out on the second reading in the house of Lords, on Monday.

Friday, April 7.

THE ASHBURTON TREATY.

Lord Brougham brought forward his motion for a vote of thanks to Lord Ashburton for the ability he had displayed in bringing the treaty with America to a termination, alike honourable and advantageous to both parties. The motion was prefaced by a lengthened, brilliant speech, which extends over nine colums of the *Times*. The noble lord detailed at some length the disputes that had existed between this country and the United States up to the period when the present ministry came into office. He ob-

served that these disputes had created a great deal of ill blood and ill feeling in the minds of the lower classes in America, and that ill feeling had been exasperated by the conduct of General Cass, upon which the noble and learned lord pronounced a most severe condemnation in having pandered to the worst passions of the lower orders in America, to further his own views upon the president's chair. He then proceeded to point out the advantages which this country had obtained by the treaty, defended the policy pursued by Lord Ashburton throughout the affair, and showed that not only was the case of the burning of the Caroline set at rest by it, but, at the request of the noble plenipotentiary, an act was submitted to, and passed the American legislature, which rendered it impossible for such a case as that of M'Leod ever again to occur. The noble lord next referred to the case of the Creole, which had been so satisfactorily arranged, and had established the principle, that the moment a slave touched British ground his chains fell off, and he became free. He deemed that the right of search had been given up to that country—all parties were agreed upon it in its modified form of a right of visit to ascertain if the vessel really belonged to the nation whose flag she carried. He did not think the boundary question would reflect dishonour upon either country—all admitted that it was in the nature of a compromise, in which concessions were to be made on both sides. They had secured a much better line than had been awarded to them by the King of the Netherlands, and he thought the noble lord was fully entitled to the thanks of the country, for having brought it to a satisfactory termination. From the charge of undignified bearing, "wheedling," and "truckling," he defended Lord Ashburton, by comparing his conduct with that of Charles Fox; who conciliated the French minister Talleyrand by sending to him the man that offered to assassinate Napoleon, accepted the French statesman's wine, and sent Lord Lauderdale, the special friend of France, to conduct the negotiations that ensued. He also read passages from Lord Ashburton's correspondence, which he eulogised for their statesmanlike dignity and grace of composition.

The Duke of CAMBRIDGE heartily concurred in the motion. He knew, from his own experience as viceroy in Hanover, the advantage of a conciliatory disposition on the part of the negotiator; and he thought that, considering the personal sacrifices Lord Ashburton had made, he well deserved the thanks of their lordships for his great services.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said the noble and learned lord might have spared much of his eloquence in such case, although he did not think it would meet the approval of many noble lords on his side of the house. He really did not see what great object the noble lord had achieved in his settlement of the case of the Creole, because the principle therein recognised had been for a long period acted upon, as between the slave-holding and free states of America. The noble lord then proceeded to point out the errors in Lord Ashburton's negotiations, especially in his having made all his concessions at starting, and keeping nothing in reserve. He then refered to the right of search question, and concluded that the message of President Tyler clearly showed that the matter had not been placed upon a satisfactory footing. The noble lord concluded by moving as an amendment that the house do adjourn.

The Earl of ABERDEEN had no doubt that the thanks of the House would be as highly appreciated by Lord Ashburton as if it had emanated from the government, which he would observe was quite ready to take upon itself all the responsibility of the acts of that noble lord. He thought the settlement of the question reflected the highest credit upon Lord Ashburton, and the government would give the motion its ready and willing support.

Lord CAMPBELL could not give his assent to the motion of the noble and learned lord, who had gone far beyond the flight of his leader in the other house (Mr Hume), whose motion was of a much more circumscribed and limited character. He contended at some length that Lord Ashburton had been completely overreached by Mr Webster in these negotiations, and had made concessions which involved the rights of Great Britain, and were calculated to produce the most disadvantageous political results.

Lord DENMAN approved generally of the treaty, and was glad that a question which had been so long the cause of disagreement and ill-feeling between the two countries had been amicably arranged. He disapproved, however, of some parts of it with reference to the slave trade, and did not think the principles for which Great Britain had always contended with regard to that question had been sufficiently upheld.

After a few words from Lord COLCHESTER and Lord CARNARVON, Lord BROUGHAM replied, after which the amendment was negatived without a division, and the resolution approving Lord Ashburton's conduct declared to be carried.

HONG-KONG AND MACAO.—On Saturday afternoon the first line of packet ship that has sailed from England for the important British settlements of Hong-kong and Macao was dispatched from the West India docks. The vessel chartered for that destination was the Cleopatra, about 600 tuns, Commander Early. She had a large quantity of specie for the merchants in those distant parts, and a full cargo of English manufactured goods, suited to the wants and habits of the natives of China. A line of packet ships has been formed, one of which is to start from London the 1st of every month, to call at Portsmouth, and to sail on the 8th of the same month, the vessel remaining at Portsmouth to receive letters, &c.

THE REVENUE.

Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th April, 1842 and 1843, showing the Increase or Decrease thereof.

	YEARS ENDED APRIL 5th,			
	1842.	1843.	Increase	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
Customs	19,876,130	18,799,794	....	1,076,336
Excise	12,464,609	11,405,516	....	1,059,093
Stamps	6,631,529	6,484,739	....	146,790
Taxes	4,411,619	4,265,537	....	146,082
Property Tax	....	2,456,288	2,456,288	....
Post-office	504,000	607,000	103,000	....
Crown Lands	180,000	117,500	....	62,500
Miscellaneous	371,805	797,774	425,969	....
Total Ordinary Revenue	44,439,692	44,934,148	2,985,257	2,490,801
Imprest and other Monies	347,691	502,604	154,913	....
Repayments of Advances for Public Works	576,444	642,058	65,614	....
Total Income..	45,363,827	46,078,810	3,205,784	2,490,801
Deduct Decrease			2,490,801	....
Increase on the Year			714,983	....

	QUARTERS ENDED APRIL 5th,			
	1842.	1843.	Increase	Decrease.
	£	£	£	£
Customs	4,495,051	4,219,537	....	275,516
Excise	1,769,161	1,767,373	....	1,788
Stamps	1,599,487	1,593,126	....	6,361
Taxes	150,753	142,698	....	8,055
Property Tax	....	1,885,232	1,885,232	....
Post-office	142,000	144,000	2,000	....
Crown Lands	50,500	35,000	....	15,500
Miscellaneous	323,193	541,556	218,363	....
Total Ordinary Revenue	8,530,147	10,328,522	2,105,595	307,220
Imprest and other Monies	25,714	16,907	....	8,807
Repayments of Advances for Public Works	164,671	124,048	....	40,623
Total Income..	8,720,532	10,469,477	2,105,595	356,650
Deduct Decrease			356,650	....
Increase on the Quarter			1,748,945	....

Income and Charge on the Consolidated Fund, in the Quarters ended April 5, 1842 and 1843.

INCOME.	QUARTERS ENDED 5th APRIL,	
	1842.	1843.
	£	£
Customs	4,081,450	3,456,139
Excise	1,782,535	1,787,266
Stamps	1,599,487	1,593,126
Taxes	150,753	142,698
Property Tax	....	1,885,232
Post-office	142,000	144,000
Crown Lands	50,500	35,000
Miscellaneous	323,193	30,150
Produce of Silver received from China	....	511,406
Imprest and other Monies	25,714	16,907
Repayment of Advances	164,671	124,048
	8,320,303	9,725,965
To Cash brought to this Account to be applied to pay off Deficiency Bills	240,000	100,000
	8,560,303	9,825,965

CHARGE.	QUARTERS ENDED 5th APRIL,	
	1842.	1843.
	£	£
Permanent Debt	3,530,392	3,534,666
Terminable Annuities	1,363,212	1,319,618
Interest on Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund	24,321	34,259
Sinking Fund	....	....
Civil List	97,382	97,422
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund	336,380	370,503
For Advances and to pay off Exchequer Bills issued for Advances	15,112	141,378
Total Charge	5,366,799	5,497,846
Surplus	3,193,504	4,328,119
	8,560,303	9,825,965
Amount of Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund for the Quarter ended 5th Jan., 1843, and paid off out of the growing Produce of that Fund for the Quarter ended 5th April, 1843	....	8,560,729
Amount issued in the Quarter ended 5th April, 1843, in part of the Sums granted by Parliament out of the Consolidated Fund, for Supply Services	567,830	....
The Surplus of the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended 5th April, 1843	4,328,119	3,760,289
The probable Amount of Exchequer Bills required to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended 5th April, 1843		4,800,440

Postscript.

Wednesday, April 12th, 1843.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the motion of Sir Robert Peel it was resolved that the House at its rising adjourn to Monday the 24th inst.

In consequence of the adjournment various notices of motions were given and altered, some of which deserve special notice. Mr Villiers postponed his motion on the subject of the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws from April 27 to May 4; and Mr Ewart put off his motion upon education until after Easter. Mr Hume fixed his motion on the Ashburton treaty for May 2.

CHURCH EXTENSION.—By far the most important notice of motion, and one to which we call the earnest attention of the friends of religious liberty, was to the following effect by Sir Robert Peel—"that on the 4th of May he would move for leave to bring in a bill *to provide for the endowment of additional ministers of the church of England in certain populous districts.*" There is no mistaking the design of this motion. The object is plain and unequivocal. Government and the church are determined to crush dissent; and that which will be left undone by the slow working of the Factories bill, is to be effected by the instant application of the other. Will not this fresh and violent attack arouse dissenters to the necessity of instant and unceasing exertion for overthrowing that, without whose existence a Factories bill and a church extension scheme would never be thought of—viz., a state church? Oh! that the spirit of their nonconforming ancestors, which is not yet entirely extinguished from their bosoms, would arouse them to a sense of the value of those principles for which their forefathers suffered, and which were in their estimation of more value than life itself.

One hundred and sixty three petitions were presented against the Factories bill.

PARISH VESTRIES.—Sir John Walsh asked leave of the House of Commons to introduce a bill for the better regulation of parish vestries by a new mode of election. This was vigorously opposed by several of the metropolitan representatives, who, with other members, bore testimony to the beneficial working of the present law, as contrasted with the old system of close vestries; and Sir John Walsh, finding himself unsupported, consented, on the recommendation of Sir James Graham, to withdraw the motion.

THE BISHOP OF JERUSALEM.—Dr Bowring then rose to move for the correspondence of the British government with the Porte on the subject of the Bishop of Jerusalem. This appointment he regretted both on general grounds and with reference to the selection of the bishop. A large subscription had been raised on the understanding that a firman had been granted by the Porte, that the King of Prussia was co-operating zealously in the object, and that there was now a prospect of uniting the Lutheran and Anglican churches. Dr Alexander, the person selected, had gone out, unacquainted with the language of the people among whom he was to live, as well as with the classical languages. The local authorities could not and durst not authorise the building of a Christian church; they could not even insure protection to a Christian congregation. He believed that no converts would be made: the Jews of that country were zealously attached to their own religion; and as to the Mussulmans, he had seen in Palestine more Christians professing Mahometanism than Mahometans converted to Christianity. Sir R. H. Inglis defended the acquirements and character of Dr Alexander, and said that it was no reproach to him that he was of Jewish descent, seeing that the first bishop of Jerusalem was St James. Here a motion was made that the House be counted; but as exactly forty members were present, Sir R. H. Inglis continued his speech. He approved of the political expediency of having in the holy city a representative of the protestant church; and read an extract of a letter from Dr Alexander addressed to himself, in which the bishop stated that many of the accounts respecting him in the public prints were fabrications. Sir Robert Peel thought that Dr Bowring appeared to be actuated by personal feelings of hostility towards the Bishop of Jerusalem. Nothing was asked from the Porte which was unreasonable, in giving his permission to the erection of the protestant church in Jerusalem, and much exaggeration had been used with respect to the subject. After some remarks from Mr Hume and Lord Palmerston, Dr Bowring withdrew his motion.

ALLOTMENT OF WASTE LAND.—Mr W. Cowper then brought forward his motion for a select committee to inquire into the propriety of setting apart a portion of all waste lands which shall be enclosed by act of parliament, to be let out in small allotments to the labouring poor of the district, and also into the best mode of effecting the same. Sir James Graham thought that the course proposed was a more safe one than the proposal of a bill. After a short conversation the appointment of the committee was ordered.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord ASHBURTON gratefully acknowledged the resolution which, upon Lord Brougham's motion, their lordships had adopted, approving his conduct of the negotiations which had led to the treaty of Washington, in a short and temperate speech.

Lord BROUGHAM laid on the table of the house a bill for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa. Its provisions were directed to three objects, to prevent the buying and selling of slaves with plantations, by putting a stop to the trade in articles which were necessary to the maintenance of slavery; to prevent joint stock companies from dealing in slaves by similar indirect means; and to check trapping on the coast of Africa, by the establishment of a more effectual mode of trying the offenders.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is 4740 quarters. But little doing, and at Monday's prices.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"An Englishman," and "A Minister," declined for want of room.

"A Brother Nonconformist" next week, if possible.

"Z." and "H. H." under consideration.

"J. T. Hoxton." We cordially thank him for his sympathies, but the letter is scarcely suitable for publication.

"J. Lignum." We are unable to furnish the required information.

"An Observer of the Signs of the Times" declined with thanks.

The communication entitled "The Genealogy of the Church of England" declined for want of room.

"A Nonconformist," next week.

"T. Islip." Yes, in each case.

"T. P. Savill." The most likely place to procure the information would be the *Congregational Almanac*.

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For 7 lines ....5*s*. 0*d*. | For 10 lines ....6*s*. 0*d*.
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Orders for the *Nonconformist* are received at the office, and by all booksellers and newsvendors. The terms of subscription, if paid in advance, are £1 6s. per annum. All communications for the Editor should be addressed to the office, No. 4, Crane court, Fleet street.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12, 1843.

SUMMARY.

BRAVELY done, Nottingham! The sun of your glory, which but now was concealed behind black clouds, has emerged in splendour. Eighteen hundred and fifty-four electors, banded together to strike a blow for their own and their country's freedom, deserve the triumph which they have achieved. They will have a nation's silent but not less fervent thanks. We are sure they have ours. To them belongs the honour of returning to parliament the first member elected to represent complete suffrage principles. May he prove worthy of the noble cause to which, and to which alone, he owes his seat! We tender our heartiest congratulations to all parties who have contributed to bring about this really important result—to each and all who recorded their votes in favour of Mr Gisborne—to Mr Vincent, whose high-toned eloquence did so much to awaken and keep alive a right spirit—and, not least, to Mr Beggs, the secretary of the Complete Suffrage association, whose unflinching adherence to the cause he has espoused, has been rewarded by the extrication of Nottingham from the meshes of whig intrigue. This day, two years ago, the *Nonconformist* was first launched. It is scarcely eighteen months since the first article on complete suffrage was written; and now on this, our second anniversary, we are honoured in being able to shake hands with Nottingham, for giving the earliest practical result to our labours. We are conscious, fully conscious, of the small share of the success fairly attributable to us. Nevertheless, we are proud of having originated a movement which has already grown to such strength, and we are thankful that, in the midst of many discouragements and much obloquy, we meet with some passages which, like the Nottingham election, serve to cheer our occasionally flagging hopes.

Nor shall we pass by in silence, Durham—Durham, "where" said Lord (then Harry) Brougham, "the clergy swarm an' it were the very patrimony of St Peter." We are glad that, in that city, the strength of reformers was undivided; that the advocates of corn-law repeal and complete suffrage could consistently unite in support of the same man. It will not be our fault if it be not always thus. The free traders who give honest proof of attachment to our principles will find in us no obstruction to their success. We have no wish to give the go-by to "total repeal," but neither, if we can prevent it, shall others give the go-by to complete suffrage. We seek representation. We ask not for men professing *exclusively* our principles—we want not such—we will not support such. But neither will we receive nor support those, whatever may be their creed, who decline a frank avowal of the great truth we advocate. Wherever candidates, holding at once the doctrines of complete parliamentary reform and unfettered trade, stand forward to solicit the confidence of electors, there the whole strength of the earnest liberals may be united. Such was the case at Durham. Mr Williams, who, in the absence of any reforming candidate, stood forward on behalf of complete suffrage principles, having received from Mr Bright a declaration of his intention to support them in parliament, instantly withdrew. The issue was comparative success; for Mr Bright's position on the poll, considering that he was a stranger at Durham, and did not enter the field till the eleventh hour, may properly be regarded as triumphant.

The revenue accounts, published since our last number, satisfactory as they may appear to a finance minister, tell no very flattering tale of our social comfort, nor of our commercial prosperity. In the excise, the truest test of the first, there is on the year a decrease of £1,059,093, on the quarter of £1,788. In the customs, a sort of rough barometer of the last, there is on the year a decrease of £1,076,336, on the quarter of £275,516. In the stamps, there is a decrease on the year of £146,790; in the taxes, of £146,082; and on the quarter of £6,261 and £8,055 respectively. Under the head "Miscellaneous" there is an increase of £425,969 on the year, and on the quarter of £218,363, of which the Sycee silver, wrested from the Chinese, forms an important item. The income tax adds to the revenue for the year £2,456,288, and for the quarter £1,885,232. The total increase on the year is £714,983, and on the quarter £1,748,945. The result will be the temporary relief of government from financial embarrassments, and hence increased hopelessness in pushing to a successful issue projects of commercial reform. The immense breadth of wheat sown in this country during the autumn, and present prospects of an abundant harvest, together with the further operation of the new tariff, will, in a short time, bring down the price of provisions considerably lower than they are now; and anti-corn-law agitation, as all must be aware, is considerably impeded by the prevalence of low prices. Sir Robert Peel has now got most of the supplies; and, in all probability, within a few weeks after the Easter holidays, the members of the legislature will be dismissed to pursuits which they understand far better than framing laws for the government of a great people.

The overland mail has brought news from China and India. Tranquillity is maintained in the former, and the negotiations are proceeding without interruption. In India, that best of Christians, according to the testimony of Sir Robert Peel, the governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, to whom the thanks of both Houses have been voted, having withdrawn the army from Affghanistan, has, by way we suppose of keeping them in exercise, committed, at a terrible expense of blood, as cool and bare-faced a robbery upon the Ameers of Scinde as ever wolf inflicted upon lamb. Can no plan be devised for giving a moral and religious education to our rulers? If public funds must be employed for instructing ignorant minds, and reforming vicious hearts, might we not begin by establishing a normal school for imbuing statesmen with some of the first and most elementary precepts of Christianity? A correspondent has reminded us of the declaration of the Duke of Wellington, that men who are over scrupulous in matters of conscience have no business in the army; and Sir Robert Peel himself, at an early period of the present session, solemnly deprecated the danger of measuring our national policy by the maxims and standard of revealed truth. Doubtless both are right, at least in the aristocratic sense of that term: but, if they be right, what hypocrisy is it to put on a semblance of concern for the religious instruction of the poor; and what utter infatuation for any class of men to concede the propriety of devolving so serious a responsibility upon the government.

And now for parliament. As noticed in the postscript of our last number, Lord Ashley, on Tuesday se'nnight, brought forward his motion on the subject of the opium trade with China. The speech of the noble lord, which was one of unusual length, detailed facts and opinions, constituting together a mass of evidence to which there is no reply—that the smuggling of opium into China inflicts an appalling curse upon the Chinese, scattering among them the seeds of idiocy, disease, and death—that it demoralises our own countrymen—that it impedes the progress of sound trade—and that it endangers pacific relations between ourselves and "the celestial empire." Unfortunately, Lord Ashley suffered himself to be choused out of his motion by the dexterity of Sir Robert Peel, who said that, if carried, it would embolden the Emperor of China to refuse the legalisation, by treaty, of the trade in opium. Our own view of this question we may give in few words. A direct attempt, by our own government, to prohibit trade in this or any other article with foreign nations, we deem to be impolitic, because we are certain it would be unsuccessful; and to involve a principle of interference, which once admitted, may be carried to any conceivable extent. But we think that it is due to the interests of the whole country, and of humanity itself, that traders in this baneful drug should be made to incur and to feel the whole danger of their odious traffic. The government monopoly of the growth of opium in India should instantly be put down — not a poppy should be sown under the sanction, or for the advantage of "the powers that be." Notice should be given to the Chinese authorities that they are at perfect liberty to deal, hereafter, as their wisdom or their severity may think fit, with every smuggler captured and convicted, without exposing to risk the amicable relations of the two empires. Every armed merchantman found on that coast should be dealt with as piratical; and if contraband trade is carried on, those engaged in it should feel that they must do so, deprived of all means of self-protection, and without hope of protection from their own government. Such measures, we imagine, would stay the plague—but when money is concerned what hope is there of getting our rulers to act upon maxims of international morality.

On Thursday evening Mr Charles Buller brought on his motion for a system of extensive colonisation. His speech, which also was a long one, was elaborately composed, able, comprehensive, moderate in tone, but reaching often to considerable heights of eloquence. Mr Sharman Crawford submitted an amendment, which he supported by a train of close argument, and by a mass of statistical information. The emigration and allotment schemes are kindred in character; the last, in our judgment, being immensely superior in almost every respect to the first—subject to fewer difficulties, and promising superior and more immediate advantages. Neither of them, however, can be regarded in any other light than as palliatives of the national disease; and, in the absence of free trade, would not sensibly improve the prospects of the country. Both proceed upon the principle that it is the duty of government to find employment for the people—a principle we hold to be utterly unsound. Schemes of this character usually absorb an immense capital, generate a system of jobbing, create a large amount of patronage, and finally tend to bring directly within the power of civil rulers, the people of whom civil rulers are only the servants. Were government to confine its attention to the protection of life, liberty, and property—were all exclusive privileges abolished, and all monopolies swept away—were political interference with social arrangements utterly and for ever to cease—capital and labour would mutually adjust themselves, and would speedily find out the best modes of realising the largest amount of good. It will be seen that Lord Stanley, opposing Mr Sharman Crawford's amendment, got rid of Mr Buller's proposition by moving the previous question. His speech was an effective one, and proved to the conviction of every unbiased judgment that extensive emigration does not promise much for the extrication of the country from its present difficulties.

On Friday night the House was chiefly engaged in voting the supplies. On the estimate of £50,000 for national education in Ireland, several Irish members expressed their dissatisfaction with the plan, on the ground that it did not deal fairly with the established church of that country. Lord Eliot defended the system, urging that the Roman catholics were eighty per cent. of the whole population; and it was a great point gained, that they had consented to accept the education offered to them by the state. Sir R. Peel's argument was equally logical, and throws light upon the odious hypocrisy concealed under all this pretended concern for national education. He did not think it at all followed, that because the commissioners recommended the principle of a compromise under the peculiar circumstances of such a population as the Irish, that the same principle would be equally applicable in England; that is to say, in plain English, though a majority of those in England who will come within the influence of this new Factories bill are dissenters, he does not think them entitled to those exemptions from the control of the state church, which are conceded to the Roman catholics of Ireland. And why not? The past history of dissent will, we think, furnish the answer. Next came an estimate of £2,000 for professorships in the two universities, to which Mr Hume objected on the ground that dissenters were excluded from those establishments. The vote was of course passed. The annual grants for Maynooth college, with Mr Plumptre's usual protest, and for the British museum, concluded the business of the evening. On Monday the Registration of Voters bill was, after a lengthened discussion on the various debatable points that had been discussed during its various readings, read a third time and passed. The Ecclesiastical Courts bill then followed. Its second reading was strongly opposed by Sir R. Inglis and Mr Jervis, seconded by Colonel Sibthorp, who designated the bill as "a complete humbug, and Doctors' Commons job." On the question of an adjournment of the debate, the affirmative was carried.

The motion of Lord Brougham in the house of Lords on Friday night, for a vote of thanks to Lord Ashburton, on account of the Washington treaty, was prefaced by one of the ex-chancellor's most erratic speeches. To the object of that motion we cannot object; in the terms of the treaty itself we profess our concurrence; and the propriety of giving thanks to a peace-maker rather than warriors strongly commends itself to our judgment. But the speech did little to recommend Lord Ashburton, and far less to add credit to Lord Brougham. The courtliness of its tone, its sneering allusions to democracy, and even its rebuke, although merited, of the American press, came anything but gracefully out of the mouth of Lord Brougham. They prove the core of the man to be utterly unsound. They show that his mind has never yet been anchored to any great substantial principle of truth. Ministers acquiesced in the motion, and thanks were accordingly voted; and Lord Brougham, having achieved his triumph over the party with whom he was formerly associated, packed up his trunk,

and will set off for Paris to-morrow, leaving behind him but few regrets for his departure.

In conclusion, we have one word to say respecting ourselves. It had been our intention to have given a short connected series of articles on the subject of government education. This design we have but very imperfectly executed. We feel the impracticability, with Sir James Graham's measure lying before us, and in the midst of an agitation more extensive and more exciting than the country has known for some years, to pursue the question with that calmness which so great a matter requires. It is our wish, moreover, to examine, even to its very roots, the principle upon which is based the duty of government to afford even secular education to its subjects. We propose, therefore, to postpone the systematic elucidation of our views until the fate of this Factories bill has been decided. We may then take up the entire subject, apart from the heat of present encounter. We shall continue to comment on affairs in connexion with it, as they turn up from day to day, but a regular argumentative view of this great question we must, in fairness to ourselves and to our readers, reserve until the bustle of agitation has passed by.

THE WAY TO SUCCESS.

THE fruit of the policy we have uniformly, in this journal, recommended to the friends of complete suffrage begins at length to develop itself. We can have no objection to that extensive and national agitation of the truth which aims at the enlightenment of all classes, at the diffusion of sound political truth, and at the fostering of virtuous political feeling throughout the empire. Such an agitation there can be no doubt will lend a reflex influence at the moment, and in the place, at which it is sought to convert opinion into act. But we believe that this is not the shortest way to ultimate success. The end proposed may be accomplished by means which are less expensive in character, and still more certain in result. By making every operation tell upon a definite spot—by giving to it a practical character—and by urging it with all the effectiveness which well-economised strength will admit of—whilst we seem to undertake less, we perform more; and, by a series of single victories, raise the hopes and nerve the spirits of our best friends in proportion as we strike dismay into the ranks of our enemies. For this reason we have strenuously advocated the policy of securing electoral organisation, in preference to that of attempting the formation of general public opinion. By promptitude, decision, and well-directed effort, we may thus gain what we want in popularity, and in alliance with political party.

The recent election at Nottingham illustrates and confirms our position. Attempting a constituency, we have achieved a signal triumph. Inflexible adherence to principle, determination to put up a complete suffrage candidate at all hazards, agitation of the town with a view to a practical result, carelessness as to what might be the movements or what the counsels of party men, judicious organisation, and earnest activity given at the right moment, have wrought out a victory, the moral effects of which upon other constituencies it is not easy to over estimate. To all the accusations brought against us from time to time, of splitting up the reform interest by over-weening dogmatism, we may safely point to Nottingham for an unanswerable reply. Concession to the whig party would, it is plain, have damaged the reputation for consistency of the complete suffragists, whilst it would have failed to secure the return of a reforming candidate. Sir George Larpent would have created no enthusiasm in his favour; and Mr Gisborne owes his seat exclusively to the strong moral power of complete suffrage principles. The people can anticipate no splendid result of their exertions until they have utterly severed themselves from both factions of the aristocracy.

The policy of complete suffragists is now, we imagine, sufficiently plain. They must contest every vacancy, regardless alike of the probability of the issue, and of the inconvenience they may thereby occasion to the pseudo-liberals of the day. The benefits of a systematic course, such as that we recommend, are not to be measured by the number of members we are able to return. Save for its influence upon the public mind, it matters but little as yet whether such contests be successful or otherwise. The grand point to be secured—a point which this course will infallibly reach, is to produce certain conviction upon the minds of our leading politicians, that there exists but one road to the house of Commons for those professing liberal sentiments, and that that road lies through the door of complete suffrage. We are well aware that a determination to act upon this course will call down upon us the indignant denunciation of the Reform club; for from the moment when it is adopted, their occupation will be gone. We do not hide from ourselves the prospect of stirring up the fiercest wrath of whig journalists, both metropolitan and provincial, inasmuch as we are able to foresee, in common with them, that this inflexible line of policy will entirely destroy the power of the party whom they serve. But we contend that, for the earnest advocates of complete representation, no middle path can be entered upon with rational hopes of success. The individuality of the movement must at all hazards be preserved. It is of the utmost importance that all men should feel that it is a thing which cannot be moulded to subserve their purposes, and which must be met either with open hostility or with entire acquiescence.

We are most anxious that in every borough in the empire suitable preparation should be forthwith made to put forward, at the first vacancy, a candidate heartily espousing the principles of the Union. In every borough there probably exists a small nucleus about which strength may hereafter gather itself. A few right-minded men, banded together by attachment to the common cause, may easily in each place set on foot a movement, having for its object the diffusion of information amongst the electors; a periodical canvass of the constituency; the framing of a skeleton organisation, which upon the most sudden emergency may be brought to act with promptitude and vigour; and the invitation and introduction of suitable candidates, who, when the moment for action arrives, may be ready at once to take the field. This work, we say, should be entered upon forthwith. An immediate and simultaneous movement in this direction will do more to advance the cause than all the arguments that the profoundest genius can invent, or all the persuasion which the highest eloquence can employ. The very attitude of determination into which the friends of the cause would herein be seen to put themselves, would strike a panic throughout the hosts of the people's foes. This, more than anything else, would gain for us a respectable attention even in the present parliament. It is the shortest way to the judgment of corrupt representatives. It is the most efficient plan of agitation which wit of man can devise. Let it be adopted, and worked with energy and skill, and a new face will instantly be put upon the cause of the people.

Let it be borne in mind that when elections occur the issue is far oftener decided by promptitude than by mere opinion. When a party is already in the field, it is sure to draw after it a train, and that a tolerably numerous one, of men holding sentiments only approaching to, and not entirely identical with, those of the occupant of the ground. The votes of hundreds are secured by the simple fact that a man is already there to solicit them. The larger portion of electors scarcely know their own minds. They follow in the wake of whatever goes before them. They leave others to originate, and think their duty done when they record their suffrage in favour of the man who comes nearest to their own views. There is an immense mass of listlessness and indecision, which is quite as ready to add weight to a suffrage movement as to a movement of a more party character. It is for us to govern the current by marking out its course. One determined mind frequently influences a whole constituency. Vacillation is always glad to ally itself with something positive, to save itself from the trouble and hesitation implied in the change of choice. A thousand men may debate for weeks whether they ought or ought not to put down a nuisance in the neighbourhood. It requires but one of their number to go forth for the purpose of accomplishing it, and all the rest will follow mechanically.

THE STORM AND ITS DIRECTION.

THE Factories bill has produced quite a tornado in the dissenting world. The storm is becoming perfectly terrific, and were there but some controlling mind to guide it, might be turned to permanently beneficial account. Oh! that there were at this moment a Milton, who, high above the whirlwind of mere passion, might lift the calm, persuasive, dignified voice of reason, and might let drop upon minds, awakened to new life, some of those seeds of immortal truth, which he, the sublime bard, knew better than any uninspired mortal how to enunciate! Oh! that there were men standing in the high places of society, and deemed fit to utter oracles to those who congregate below, to warn the thousands of now earnest but ill-counseled nonconformists against the danger of conceding, even for the sake of conciliating our direst foes, the smallest semblance of a true principle; and so to sway the present movement, as that its rushing energies might pour down in one overwhelming torrent upon priestism itself, not as seen only in this bill, but in every form! The truth is, the dissenters of all denominations feel themselves to have already compromised their principles by past acceptance of government money for religious education, and they are consequently seriously hampered now in giving free expression to their thoughts and principles. We advise them at once—we earnestly implore them, in the name of civil and religious freedom—to give to the winds, if need be, their reputation for consistency. In this hour of darkness and of trial, we conjure them, as they must long since have repented, now frankly to confess. Let them confess that they have hitherto been misled—that benevolent intentions had hood-winked their judgment—and let them, as honest, earnest men, catching the spirit of their forefathers of the sixteenth century, enter into "solemn league and covenant" to put down, in this land, the mother of this legislative monster—"black prelacy"—or perhaps we may rather say, a political church. Nine months since we told dissenters that they never would be able to resist the encroachments of the dominant priesthood until they were brought to fight the battle of principle. Happy are we in observing that we stand not altogether alone. The Metropolitan Collegiate association, and public meetings of dissenters at Manchester, Bradford, Derby, Stoke Newington, and elsewhere, have boldly and unequivocally entered their protest against the right of the civil magistrate to meddle with the religious education of subjects. Let others take this high ground. The blood of dissenters is up. Woe be to them who suffer it to cool again, until this ardour has been turned to some account on behalf of truth!

WHIG *VERSUS* TORY EDUCATION SCHEME.

ON Tuesday, Lord John Russell laid on the table of the house of Commons, his promised resolutions on the subject of education, and which he proposes to bring on for discussion after Easter. They are as follows:—

"1. That in any bill for the promotion of education in Great Britain, by which a board shall be authorised to levy, or cause to be levied, parochial rates, for the erection and maintenance of schools, provision ought to be made for an adequate representation of the rate-payers of the parish in such board.

"2. That the chairman of such board ought to be elected by the board itself.

"3. That the holy scriptures, in the authorised version, should be taught in all schools established by any such board.

"4. That special provision should be made for cases in which Roman catholic parents may object to the instruction of their children in the holy scriptures in such schools.

"5. That no other books of religious instruction should be used in such schools unless with the sanction of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the concurrence of the committee of privy council for education.

"6. That, in order to prevent the disqualification of competent schoolmasters on religious grounds, the books of religious instruction, other than the holy bible, introduced into the schools, should be taught by the clergyman of the parish, or some person appointed by him, to the children of parents who belong to the established church, or who may be desirous that their children should be so instructed.

"7. That all children taught in such schools should have free liberty to resort to any Sunday school, or any place of religious worship which their parents may approve.

"8. That any school connected with the National School society, or the British and Foreign School society, or any Protestant Dissenters' school, or any Roman catholic school, which shall be found upon inspection to be efficiently conducted, should be entitled, by license from the privy council, to grant certificates of school attendance, for the purpose of employment in factories of children and young persons.

"9. That, in the opinion of this House, the committee of Privy Council for education ought to be furnished with means to enable them to establish and maintain a sufficient number of training and model schools in Great Britain.

"10. That the said committee ought likewise to be enabled to grant gratuities to deserving schoolmasters, and to afford such aid to schools established by voluntary contributions, as may tend to the more complete instruction of the people in religious and secular knowledge, while at the same time the rights of conscience may be respected."

This, then, is the rival scheme to be set up against that of Sir James Graham: and which is pronounced by the *Chronicle* to be "worthy of the reputation of Lord John Russell, whose whole life has been devoted to extending and consolidating the civil and religious liberties of his country," and to be "at once comprehensive, just, and practical." We shall be content, if the praises of Lord John, in the matter of "consolidating" religious liberty, to say nothing about his services in the civil department, even until he reached finality, are to be confined to the columns of the *Chronicle*. We are full of fears, however, lest even the *organ* of our Religious Freedom society should return to its "old love," and that because these resolutions are those of Lord John, and for no other earthly reason, should also declare them to be "at once comprehensive, just, and practical;" and that from the pages of the "organs of dissent" will be taken the cue that is to turn the present discussion of the education question away from the point, whether the proposed measure of either party is accordant with the true principles of religious freedom; and to fritter down such discussion into a contention, simply, whether Lord John Russell is not a more liberal statesman than is Sir James Graham. If such be the effect, then will the purpose of bringing forward these resolutions be entirely accomplished; for we see therein only the old trick repeated to satiety—that when men begin to be in earnest, and there is danger of their reaching and holding fast to truth—that then care is always taken to introduce a contention whether one measure is not *better* than another, in order that the fact that *both are bad* may be lost sight of, and so the victory for truth be hindered. We would give warning of this present repetition of so stale a trick, and beg of our readers not to waste their breath and energies in discussing whether the resolutions of Lord John would introduce a system *less* unjust and *less* oppressive than that proposed

by the tories; but rather to seize the present golden opportunity of excitement among the professed friends of religious freedom, and to improve it for the furtherance of those principles on which only *real* religious liberty can be based.

These resolutions come before us at a time when our space is so fully occupied, that we have not room to dwell upon them. It is obvious, however, how entirely they are built upon a denial of the truth, that the compulsory teaching of Christianity is opposed to its spirit and precepts; how it is meant, if need be, to call in aid the constable's staff and the soldier's bayonet, for the teaching of religion even to children. If the details of any scheme formed on such a basis were thought by us to be worthy of discussion, it would be easy to show how the resolutions of Lord John are but a piece of sarcasm on Sir James Graham, for unnecessarily exposing the cloven foot; and that if he would only have been content to have pursued the religious education of the people on the method established when Lord John was home secretary, by means of the committee of privy council for education, Sir James would have obtained all the purposes and objects of his present measure, and avoided the present hubbub. Lord John is unquestionably an over-match for Sir James, in the science of *humbug*. What the latter would do openly and avowedly, the former would do covertly, behind screens and fences; and would maintain, we think also with a good show of reason, that the object which both have in view would be better, and for a longer time, secured by such means. Sir James, avows a plain intention to give the control of the district boards of education to a clerical chairman. Lord John, would have the chairman elected by the Board, and "that provision ought to be made for the *adequate* representation of the rate payers." What is meant by *adequate?* We fear Lord John does not mean that the rate payers should elect the whole, or even a majority of the board; and if so, what have we here but a *seeming* to do that which is not intended to be done? What use in having the rate payers represented at all, if they may not elect a majority if they will it? Sir James will openly allow a Puseyite priest to train the minds of the children for the reception of his slavish principles. Lord John thinks this may be more safely left to be done in a way which shall be "sanctioned by the Archbishop of York or Canterbury, with the concurrence of the committee of council for education;" both agreeing that the only persons to be admitted into the schools for the teaching of religious knowledge shall be state priests, or some person appointed by them; both have "a short and easy way" with those children whose parents may object to the teaching of religion at such hands—viz., that they shall not be taught any religion at all; and both insist that men shall pay, by rate or tax, for the teaching of that religion to the children of others, which they will not allow to be taught to their own.

It is curious to observe who this Committee of Privy Council for Education consists of. Why, Sir James Graham himself, as the successor of Lord John Russell, is from official position, one of its most influential members; and he has for colleagues, Lord Wharncliffe, Duke of Buccleuch, Earl of Ripon, Lord Granville Somerset, Lord Stanley, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr Goulburn. We are disposed to unite with Lord John in the astonishment which we think is expressed in his resolutions, that the interests of the church, and of Puseyism too, should not be considered safe in such keeping; and where, because of such security, he would have them remain.

How carefully this Committee of Privy Council for Education fulfils its duties, is well evinced by the following extract from its instructions to the inspectors of schools:—

"In the case of schools connected with the national church, the inspectors will inquire, with special care, how far the doctrines and principles of the church are instilled into the minds of the children—whether church accommodation of a sufficient extent is provided for them—whether the catechism and the liturgy are explained."—*Minutes of Committee of Council on Education*, 1840—1, *page* 5.

Such are the means of "church extension," paid for out of the taxes of our toiling, starving people, first introduced, and now again proposed to be enlarged and strengthened by the *Chronicle's* "consolidator" of religious liberty; and which we grieve, and are ashamed to say, have hitherto been acquiesced and shared in, by men who permitted themselves to be lulled into indifference, because all this was done in the name of education. We hope, however, that the dream is over, and that honest men are now awaking to a sense of their folly; and that instead of a confirmation of the delusion, by means of Lord John's present resolutions, they will only be aroused by them to a consideration of their first false step; and that they will henceforth repudiate all approbation of the Committee of Council for Education, and its objects, and disdain to touch an atom of its gold.

We may state that Mr Wordsworth, in consequence of communications from Sir Robert Peel and the Lord Chamberlain, has accepted the appointment of poet laureate.—*Standard*.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

The usual weekly meeting of the council was held at the office of the Union, Waterloo street, Birmingham, on Monday, the 10th inst, when the following business was transacted:—

Resolved—"That the Secretary be requested to write to the Rev. T. Spencer, to thank him for his permission to the council to adopt the tract entitled 'The People's Rights, and How to Get Them,' as one of their tracts."

Resolved—"That the thanks of the council be presented to the Rev. J. E. Giles, of Leeds, for the fearless manner in which he has avowed his attachment to the principles of this Union, in the very able and eloquent lecture recently delivered before the association at Leeds; and that an abridged report of it be adopted as one of the tracts of the Union; and that an edition of 5,000 be immediately printed."

The Chairman reported that the Nottingham election had terminated in the return of Mr Gisborne, the complete suffrage candidate.

ELECTION EXPENSES.

That as many electors, who might be anxious to advance our principles at parliamentary contests, may be deterred by fear of what are supposed to be the necessarily large expenses—

Resolved—"That the Secretary be desired to forward, to our correspondents in parliamentary boroughs, the following account of the whole legal expenses of Henry Vincent's contest for the borough of Tavistock: viz.—

		£.	s.	d.
For H. Vincent's share of	Hire of room for nomination....	1	1	0
	Poll Clerk	1	1	0
	Hustings	1	0	0
	Mace bearers	1	5	0
		4	7	0

DURHAM ELECTION.

The following lettter from Mr Williams was read:—

"RESPECTED SIR—I received yours. The course I took, and the reason for it, will appear in the *Nonconformist*. I agreed to retire on condition of Mr Bright (who was a candidate) declaring himself willing to support our principle. He did so, not only privately, but in his address on his nomination. The show of hands was unanimously in favour of him. Seeing this, I took occasion to observe, 'Now you are returned by the people; to-morrow, not improbably, you will be rejected by the electors.' I also observed to several of his friends that the unequivocal declaration of the people's real sentiments, which they then saw, was a proof of their competency to exercise, and the policy of extending the franchise to them. He cheerfully admitted the justice of the argument, and his friends could not or did not object.

"The result of the election is, Dungannon, the tory, is returned by 103 majority, Dungannon having polled 504; Bright 401.

"I am respectfully yours,

"*Bishopwearmouth, April* 3. J. WILLIAMS."

"Resolved—That this council cordially approves of the prompt and able manner in which James Williams, of Bishopwearmouth, recently stood forward as candidate at the election for the city of Durham, and for the sound discretion he exercised in withdrawing in favour of John Bright, after that gentleman had announced himself in favour of the principles of complete suffrage."

A letter was read from James Harvey, of Salford, requesting 100 cards to be immediately forwarded.

The following letter from Mr Bontems was then read:—

DEAR SIR—The memorials to Mr Byng and Colonel Thomas Wood, the members for Middlesex, calling upon them to support Mr Sharman Crawford, were forwarded to those gentlemen on the 30th of March. Nearly one third of the resident electors of the township of New Brentford had signed them, and more names would have been obtained had we known that the motion would be postponed. Very many friends to the suffrage movement are to be found among the electors of Middlesex; and I am happy to find that the government bill for the education of the factory children is likely to increase their number. I beg to congratulate the council upon the result of the Nottingham election, and also upon that at at Durham, which I regard as really a greater victory than the one at Nottingham. I wish such men as Mr Bright and Mr Cobden would throw themselves heart and soul into the suffrage cause. If Mr Sturge should be in our neighbourhood in the course of his tour, I think a visit from him would do us service. Some very influential members of the society of Friends live in this part of our county, and we should like to have their co-operation. But, above all, pray let us have Mr Vincent when next he comes to the metropolis. I am persuaded the working men will not be able to resist his powerful and eloquent appeals. Would that he were in parliament to show a proud and insolent oligarchy what one of the people could do. That this will be the case ere long, if you continue to contest every borough vacancy that may take place, is the earnest hope and confident expectation of your obedient servant,

Brentford, April 7. J. F. BONTEMS.

SHEFFIELD.—The weekly meeting of the Complete Suffrage society was held on Tuesday evening last, Mr Hague in the chair. The excellent address just issued by the National Complete Suffrage Union was read and highly applauded. Mr Beale said, before the question of education was resumed, he would read a letter which he had received from their gallant friend, Colonel Thompson, in answer to the resolutions passed at former meetings. He was glad Colonel Thompson was willing to serve the electors of Sheffield in parliament, in the event of a vacancy. The following is a copy of Colonel Thompson's letter:—

"*Blackheath, London, 30th March*, 1843.

"SIR—On returning from a journey, which has for some weeks kept me from home, I lose no time in acknowledging your letter of the 16th instant, in which you forward to me a resolution of the Sheffield Complete Suffrage association, passed at a meeting of the society some time previously, and which had been intended to be sent to me at an earlier period. Should a vacancy occur in the representation of their borough, as the association appears to anticipate, it would give me great satisfaction to endeavour to prove myself deserving of the good opinion of me expressed by the resolution in question. After a faithful and assiduous service in parliament, as demonstrated by having been one of those members who had voted on the greatest number of divisions, and after incurring great expense in defending a seat against the parties opposed to all reform, I was, on the first opportunity, turned out of parliament by the active co-operation of the leading individuals who assume to be the guides of the popular cause; partly in consequence of the jealousy felt of the practice I had adopted of communicating weekly with my constituents, and partly because the honour was done me of voting me by anticipation 'impracticable,' and not to be trusted with a plan then in agitation, and subsequently reduced to action, for bartering the further progress of reform, against a portion of borough and parliamentary interest to be divided among the parties to the compact. The result of this compact was to bring the tories into power again, and is at this moment to paralyse all exertions that could tend to a favourable alteration. When the country shall have had enough of this, it is possible the proscription which has been laid on me by name, may be found removed. And then I shall be most happy to serve the constituency of Sheffield, or any other commercial town which should think me fit to be entrusted with its industrial and political interests.

"I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"T. PERRONET THOMPSON."

"*Mr M. Beale, Secretary of the Complete Suffrage association.*"

A letter was read from Mr Vincent, announcing his intention to lecture in Sheffield next week. The discussion on the government plan of education, was then resumed, and several spirited speeches delivered against the measure by the members.

LEEDS.—On Friday week a lecture was delivered in the room of the Complete Suffrage association by Mr J. B. O'Brien, on "The necessity of all honest men, irrespective of party, co-operating for the establishment of the just rights of all," Mr G. King, vice-president, in the chair. On Wednesday evening Mr Glover delivered a lecture "On the benefits that may reasonably be expected to result from the practical adoption of the principles of complete suffrage." Arrangements are being made for the *soiree* in connexion with complete suffrage, to come off on Easter Tuesday. Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P., Joseph Sturge, Esq., and Mr Vincent, have signified their intention of being present. In reply to an invitation, Mr O'Connell said that he should have been happy to attend had he not been engaged to attend a repeal meeting.

BUCKINGHAM.—A lecture explanatory of the principles of the Complete Suffrage union was delivered in the notoriously corrupt town of Buckingham on Tuesday evening, April 4th, by Mr R. K. Philp. The lecture was listened to with marked attention by all present, and was heartily cheered throughout. The statements that the people are not represented in the present house of Commons—that the majority of the members of that House are returned by bribery and intimidation—the necessity of a change in the representation, and the right of every man of sound mind to a voice in the making of laws he is called upon to obey, was ably proved by the lecturer, and keenly felt by the audience. At the close a vote of thanks to the lecturer was carried unanimously. This is the first time the principles of complete suffrage have been publicly brought before the inhabitants of Buckingham.

LESLIE, FIFESHIRE.—A public meeting of the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood was held on Wednesday; Bailie Murdock in the chair. The object of the meeting was to petition parliament for a repeal of the corn laws, and pass a vote of thanks to Mr Cobden. The speeches made on the occasion afford a pretty decisive indication of the tendency of public feeling throughout the country. Mr William Tullis, after a few remarks on the injustice of any protective system, such as the corn laws, which taxed the consumer for the benefit of the landed proprietor, endeavoured to elucidate the mode in which political agitation should be conducted.

"He thought that reformers of all classes should frankly state the whole of the changes they deemed to be necessary for the well-being of British society; so that, having definite ideas on what reforms they wanted, they might make common cause with those who sought to obtain any one of these objects. It seemed to him to be evident that if the advocates of complete suffrage joined those who petitioned for no monopoly in trade, in corn, or in religion, they would, by acting in this rational mode, the sooner attain their equally just claim of no monopoly in the franchise. Though he advocated the propriety of the whole of these, and even believed that complete suffrage would be got before the others, still he would be very happy to have free trade first, and to join any party in petitioning for it. He trusted, however, that the people would scout not only the whig proposal of a fixed duty on corn, however small, but all taxation of the other articles of food, which was equally unjust in principle."

Mr J. G. Stuart had great doubts if anything could be got from the present House of Commons. They seemed to have more sympathy for dogs than for their fellow-creatures. They had already spent much time in discussing the dog bill, while a House could not be mustered to take into consideration the Complete Suffrage bill! Still, however, they must not lose heart, but agitate and petition for all desirable reforms, so that the country might be kept wide awake, to avail itself of any favourable circumstance, for there was no knowing when a new election of the House of Commons might take place. Mr P. Bain, a chartist, ridiculed the anti-corn-law agitation. The Rev. Mr Johnson spoke in favour of free trade, and, though favourable to complete suffrage, believed that the repeal of the corn laws must be carried first. After votes of thanks, &c., the meeting separated.

General News.

FOREIGN.

CHINA.

The latest intelligence from Canton comes down to the 21st of January. In that city tranquillity prevailed. Elepoo, the high imperial commissioner, deputed by the Chinese government to conduct the commercial negotiations with Sir Henry Pottinger, and also appointed commander-in-chief of the forces at Canton, arrived at Canton on the 10th of January, and took up his residence in the city. He immediately apprised the Plenipotentiary of his arrival, and some little correspondence took place between them; when it was arranged that the first negotiatory conferences should be held at Whampoa, about the 21st January. As a further proof of the sincerity of the Chinese government, it may be mentioned that, in a recent number of the *Pekin Gazette*, an announcement is made that the "strongest imperial commands" have been given to the governors, &c., of the Che Keang, Fukeen, and Keangnan provinces, to use their utmost endeavours for the maintenance of friendly relations.

AMERICA.

The new packet-ship Montezuma has brought intelligence four days later from the United States. The news is unimportant. New York had been visited with a severe storm, which had caused much damage to the shipping.

Accounts of the 3rd ult. had been received from Jeremie (Hayti). The revolutionists had increased, and were 12,000 strong. Several regiments of President Boyer's troops had joined the revolutionists, and all communication with Port-au-Prince had been cut off.

A report had been received from Mexico, by way of Texas, that the Congress recently broken up by the order of Santa Anna had re-assembled at Jalapa, and formed a new constitution, containing articles declaring that neither Yucatan nor Texas shall be invaded, but that negotiations shall be commenced for the purpose of inducing them peaceably to return to the confederacy. 2,000 soldiers and 14,000 citizens had assembled to protect the Congress from the central troops, which latter are greatly diminished in numbers by desertions resulting from the want of pay and provisions. A battle had been fought between a portion of the government troops and the insurgents, in which the insurgents were very successful. Another portion of the troops were reported to have gone over to the insurgents. A great many citizens were under arrest, and business at a stop. But little energy appears to be manifested on the part of the government forces.

By another source, information had also been received at Bexar, that General Arista had declared in favour of the Congress, and would be supported by the northern provinces. Both reports were doubted.

INDIA.

In the postscript of our last number we gave the substance of the telegraphic dispatch in anticipation of the overland mail. Since then the mail has arrived. The intelligence from Bombay is to the 1st of March.

The most important piece of news is a victory obtained by Major-general Sir Charles Napier over the contumacious Ameers of Scinde. The events which led to this action are thus recorded by the *Bombay Times*:—

"The first point with us was to have the navigation of the Indus made open, free, and without restraint or control. This, it appears, was without difficulty arranged. Then came the demand for a long and valuable strip of territory from Kurrachee to the frontiers of Bahawnpore, which was to be made over ostensibly, but of course for our own purposes, to the Rajah of the latter country. This, likewise, after some discussion was acceded to; but the Ameers declined to give up their Shikargurs or hunting grounds, which run along the banks, even up to the very edge of the river. Now this refusal was peculiarly unfortunate, inasmuch as for the convenience of tracking we require to have the immediate banks quite cleared of jungle. Conceiving, rightly enough, that a concession on this point would eventually lead to the utter annihilation of their valued hunting grounds, the Ameers obsinately refused to yield. War ensued. The chiefs of Hyderabad wished to maintain their Shikargurs—we desired partially to destroy them in order to promote our commerce to the Indus—the chiefs refused to yield up their territory—we made war upon them and took it! Let it be borne in mind that they had agreed to every demand but this; that they had signed the proposed treaty; and that we had not the shadow of a right to make further exactions. We must not look upon them as a set of obstinate chieftains, refusing, from sheer stupidity, to sign an agreement equally advantageous to both parties; nor as people who, influenced by spite, decline a trifling favour civilly solicited, and likely to be adequately acknowledged: they must rather be considered as a weak power in the hands of a strong one, bullied into the acceptance of a dishonest treaty, and at length roused into resentment by fresh and unmerited extortion. The whole of this melancholy affair appears to have been the work of Lord Ellenborough; and if the public at home only manifest one-half of the indignation respecting it that was called forth by the perverted accounts of our first Affghan invasion, his lordship will not escape unpunished."

The Ameers, finding that they must either surrender their capital and their independence or stake their all on the chances of an appeal to arms, resolved on the latter. The British army under Sir Charles Napier consisted of 2,500 men; the Ameers mustered 22,000. On the 17th a battle took place, in which, after a severe struggle of three hours, the Ameers were totally routed and their troops dispersed, with a loss estimated at 5,000—1,000 being left dead on the field—with quantities of stores, ammunition, standards, and some treasure. The loss of the British troops was considerable, being stated at about 250. The Ameers on the following day surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Hyderabad was occupied by the conquerors.

Anarchy continued to prevail in Affghanistan. Akhbar Khan is said to be master of Cabul; and his father, Dost Mohammed, was proceeding from Lahore towards Peshawur, as if to join him. Akhbar Khan threatened to invade the province of Peshawur, and to take it from the Sikhs; but the good treatment of old Dost Mohammed by the latter may prevent that invasion.

From Candahar news had been received that Sufter Jung had been compelled to quit that city, and seek safety in flight.

Lord Ellenborough arrived at Delhi on the 5th of February, with great splendour; a host of native chiefs in his train. He was preparing to go to Agra, where his presence was considered necessary, not only on account of the death of Scindia, the powerful chief of Gwalior, at the age of twenty-seven years (to whom an adopted heir, Bhageerut Rao, had been named), but also in order to contribute, by various arrangements, to put an end to the disturbances in the Bundelcund districts. Among the reports was one that the Brahmins of Somnauth had declined to receive the much talked of gates, which they regarded as polluted by their application to a Mohammedan's tomb, and that these celebrated trophies were to be sent to another destination.

The courts-martial on the officers engaged in the proceedings at Cabul had terminated in the acquittal of all; but, though the verdict of "Not guilty" has been pronounced for each, the Governor-general, in remarking on the verdict in the last case, spoke in terms which implied rather consent than absolute approval: General Shelton, he said, had not proved the existence of instructions which his defence alleged him to have received from General Elphinstone. His personal intrepidity and devotion to the service, however, were emphatically admitted.

Colonel Malcolm left Bombay on the 18th of February, on board a steamer, in order to deliver the ratified treaty to the Plenipotentiary.

SPAIN.

The Spanish Cortes were opened on the 3rd inst by the Regent. The usual ceremonies were observed on the occasion. The Queen and the Infant, sister to the Queen, went in state, accompanied by her court and Espartero. Deputations from both houses received the royal party, and her Majesty having taken her seat on the throne, the Regent read the following speech:—

"Gentlemen, Senators, and Deputies—In seeing you assembled round the throne of Isabella II, to co-operate by your wisdom and zeal in the accomplishment of legislative measures calculated to consolidate the government, I cannot but feel the most lively satisfaction, and entertain the fond expectation that you will in every respect fulfil the duties reserved to the present legislature.

"Since the last Cortes ceased to meet, there has occurred in our relations with the governments of foreign nations no notable change.

"As respects our internal situation, I feel pleasure in recognising the zeal and uprightness with which the tribunals and the magistrates generally administer justice, notwithstanding the imperfect organisation of the judiciary power and the vices of the existing legislation. Those difficulties will be remedied by a good organic law, and by the desired reform of our codes. The government will, with those views, shortly present to you suitable measures for the prompt realisation of that reform.

"The situation of our finances claims the special attention of the Cortes. Important reforms have been introduced into the administration, and into the accounts of the public revenues, as well as into the system established for the sale of national property; but until the means necessary to meet not only the ordinary current expenses of the public service and the obligations successively contracted in consequence of the continually increasing excess of expenditure over the income, be provided, the difficulties in the way of a complete and satisfactory organisation of that vital branch of the administration of the state will daily become greater.

"Independently of the budget which will be submitted for your consideration, several projects of law, of which the Cortes will consider the utility and propriety, will be laid before them. The Cortes are too well aware of the importance of the national credit not to lend their powerful support to measures presented to them with a view to its improvement.

"Notwithstanding the penury of the treasury, the navy has received assistance which may be appreciated by the activity now prevailing in our arsenals, and by the expeditions which have been sent to different points.

"Several useful modifications, in an economical point of view, would have been made in the army; several had been presented to the Cortes, but an unexpected insurrection suddenly paralysed those prudent movements, and it was found necessary, in order to repress so great an evil, to have recourse to a considerable military force. On this occasion, as on all preceding ones, the army was a model of subordination and discipline, loyalty, and valour. Thanks to its virtues, to the noble and frank cooperation of the national guard, the commotion, which might have proved so fatal, if it had been suffered to develop itself, was checked at its origin; and tranquillity was completely restored.

"Under the protection of that tranquillity, and by means of the reforms already effected, the material interests of the country are assuming daily new consistency. Our communications are extending, agriculture and industry impart greater activity to our commerce, and public instruction is undergoing a considerable amelioration.

"The laws, in harmony with the constitution, which the government intends submitting to your examination, will contribute to improve the administration, to develop every branch of the public wealth, to raise the national militia, education, and charitable institutions, to a degree becoming the Spanish name. In the meanwhile, I feel great satisfaction in announcing to you that at this moment peace, the laws, and order reign throughout the whole of the monarchy.

"The fortunate moment has come when the Cortes and the government will find a glorious opportunity (which their patriotism will not suffer to escape) of fulfilling the wishes of the nation and the duties which we owe to the august and youthful princess now seated on the throne of her ancestors. Laws which will consolidate the state on its basis—laws calculated to open the sources of public prosperity, behold, gentlemen senators and deputies, that which the country desires, that which is worthy and becoming of the nation, and of Queen Isabel II. May her Majesty, when assuming the reins of government at the fortunate period now approaching, experience no obstacle to her carrying into effect the beneficial measures which her generous mind prepares for the nation; may she find in the blessings and the applause which she will receive the precious fruit of our labours and of our sacrifices."

The speech was listened to in the most profound silence, and elicited no cheers. The whole of the *corps diplomatique* was present. The absence of th Infante Don Francisco de Paula and his family was however remarked, and occasioned surprise.

It was generally reported in Madrid, that the present ministers had placed their resignation at the disposal of the Regent, to deprive the enemies of the constitution in the new Cortes of any pretence for attacking it and his government through them, but that "nothing was yet settled as to who can stay in, or who will relieve them." It was likewise said that M. Cortina had declared himself in strong terms against the ministry. Other reports asserted that Cortina, Chacon, and Sancho, would form part of a new ministry, but it was generally understood that no change would take place until about the 20th of the month, when the Chambers should be regularly constituted.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The arrival of Mr George Thompson in India has been hailed with much enthusiasm, and this able and eloquent speaker has already had frequent opportunities for the display of his peculiar talents. He appears to be industriously engaged in the acquisition of such information as is required to fit him for a useful advocate of the rights and interests of the people of India.

Volcano.—A volcano of a novel kind has broken out in the neighbourhood of Kœnigshatte, in Silesia. For twenty years a slow fire, which occasioned no alarm, has burnt in the coal mines of that district; but recently it has shot out immense volumes of flames, which threatened destruction to the surrounding buildings, and to the vast forests of the country. A steam engine has been established for the purpose of discharging water into the mines; but this machine had been in action, at the last accounts, for seventy-two hours without producing any effect.

Cape of Good Hope.—The Cape of Good Hope papers are of the 10th of February, received by her Majesty's ship Druid, which touched at that port on her passage homeward with treasure from China, and these state the satisfactory settlement of the disturbances in the territory beyond the north-eastern boundary. Colonel Hare, it appears, has had an interview with the leading farmers, who have consented to recognise British supremacy, and he is shortly to return to Graham's town with his troops, leaving at Phillipolis about 200 men, as a preventive corps, should any further feeling of insubordination be manifested. From the conferences between Col. Hare and the representatives of the farmers of Phillipolis and its neighbourhood, the disposition to create a commotion in the country has, it seems, arisen from some disagreement between the border aborigines and the Boers, which led to the circulation of various reports of the designs of the government upon the property they have acquired during their years of unmolested occupation. The Boers say they have never thought of any hostile movement, except in self-defence, and were quite prepared to exercise it, should aggression be made, either by the colonial troops or the natives themselves.

The Earthquake in the West Indies.—Intelligence from Gaudaloupe has been received by the brig Victor, Captain Jourdan, which has just arrived at Havre. This vessel left Pointe-à-Pitre on February 23, and the information she brings unfortunately confirms in every particular the sad details already laid before the public. A committee composed of M. Leger, the deputy mayor, and four influential inhabitants, had been charged with the task of discovering the exact number of the dead. Two registers were opened at the mairie, one for the free population, and the other for the slaves. It is believed that the number is from 5,600 to 6,000. Orders were given to construct on the quays wooden sheds, to receive goods as they arrived, on payment of one per cent. on their value. A committee was appointed to inquire into the losses of registers, papers, and minutes in the several departments of the marine, interior, justice, register-offices and mortgage, customs, auctioneers, and notaries. A potion, made of Peruvian bark and gentian, was ordered to be delivered in proper quantities to the soldiers and sailors working at the ruins, to guarantee them as much as possible against the effects of the noisome atmosphere. Officers were appointed to give to private persons as much wood as could be spared for erecting temporary sheds and houses, the price thereof to be paid at a future period.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

The Anti-corn-law League.—The fourth weekly meeting of the Anti-corn-law League took place in Drury lane theatre, on Wednesday evening last. The attendance of the people was fully as great as on the three preceding occasions. There were present about a dozen members of parliament—Sir J. Owen, Sir J. S. Lillie, Admiral Dundas, &c., &c. The chairman, Mr G. Wilson, delivered a long address, and was followed by J. Hume, Esq., M.P., J. Brotherton, Esq., M.P., T. M. Gibson, Esq., M.P., and J. Bright, Esq., of Rochdale. The speeches, and particularly that of the latter, who recorded the result of the sudden opposition which had been got up to Lord Dungannon in the cathedral city of Durham, were loudly cheered.

Banquet at the Mansion House.—The Lord Mayor entertained Sir Robert Peel and a distinguished party at a banquet in the Egyptian hall of

the Mansion house, on Wednesday. Among the company, which numbered one hundred and fifty, were the Lord Chancellor and several of the ministers and great officers of the household, with their ladies, Lord and Lady Ashburton, the Speaker, Lord Brougham, a few members from either side of the house, including Lord Worsley and Sir John Easthope, and some aldermen. The speeches consisted chiefly of compliment. Among the toasts was "Lord Brougham and the bar." In returning thanks, Lord Brougham expressed a hope that the corporation would always go on improving, and reforming as well as improving, until, as there was no greater body corporate in the world, there might be none more free from all imperfections. He proposed "The perpetual prosperity of the corporation of the city of London;" which was drunk, at his suggestion, upstanding, with three times three. Mr Everett returned thanks for "The American minister and the United States;" taking the opportunity of making his acknowledgments to Lord Ashburton for the treaty of Washington, which he believed to be equally honourable and advantageous to both countries. The company broke up about eleven o'clock, the ladies having retired some time previously.

Wood Pavement.—On Tuesday, a meeting of the commissioners of sewers for the city of London, took place at Guildhall, to receive a report of the subcommittee appointed to take into consideration the propriety of paving Cheapside with wood. The chair was taken by Alderman Gibbs, and much interest appeared to exist amongst the members upon a question affecting so important a thoroughfare. The report recommended the putting down of wooden blocks. Sir Peter Laurie opposed the recommendation, upon the ground so frequently discussed—the danger to man and horse—and proposed, as an amendment, that no wood pavement be introduced for one year. Mr R. L. Jones supported the report, and declared that in those portions of the city in which the wood pavement was introduced, the greatest satisfaction was expressed at the remarkable change. It was finally agreed that Cheapside should be paved with wood.

Extraordinary Scene.—Handel's oratorio, the Messiah, was repeated at Exeter hall on Friday night, in order to enable Miss Clara Novello to take part in it. The hall was immensely crowded, and the lady was most flatteringly received. The air that she had to execute in the first part was so admirably performed as to call forth a very vehement *encore*, but from some cause, either that she did not deem the demand for repetition unanimous enough, or being too exhausted to venture so immediately on the repeat, Miss Clara Novello declined to comply with the demand of the audience. This caused some uproar and expression of dissatisfaction; and the ill feeling which thus unfortunately arose was by no means allayed by the demeanour on the part of the songstress, which the audience construed into anything but a gentle refusal. This feeling continued to increase as the performance progressed, and was not allayed by the audience being informed that Miss Novello had felt too fatigued to acknowledge the *encore*. The animosity continued so strong that when she eventually retired she was greeted with yells and hootings.

Fatal Accident.—Yesterday week, at four o'clock in the morning, an accident occurred to B. Ferrand Busfeild, Esq., late of Magdalene hall, Cambridge, and who is nearly related to the members for Bradford and Knaresborough, which terminated fatally. It appears that Mr Busfeild, who had been lately on a visit to his mother at Bath, left town at an early hour yesterday week, for the purpose of going upon a cruise in her Majesty's steam ship Vulcan, a revenue vessel which has been recently fitted out at Blackwall. He proceeded in a cab to the Brunswick wharf at Blackwall, and upon arriving opposite the Brunswick hotel tap, it was necessary to cross a narrow bridge over the railway, which leads to a path communicating directly with the wharf. The cabman on reaching the bridge said he did not think he could proceed any further, and Mr Busfeild alighted and walked along the path leading to the wharf, and immediately afterwards called out to the cabman to proceed, and said it was all right. The cabman drove towards the wharf, and had just reached it when he heard Mr Busfeild hailing the steamer moored directly opposite, and immediately after a splash in the water was heard, and cries of "Help, help." The cabman instantly raised an alarm, a boat put off from the Vulcan, and drags were procured, but Mr Busfeild was never seen afterwards, and it is concluded that in stepping from the wharf on to the barge moored directly under it, he fell into the water and was drowned. Notwithstanding the most diligent search, the body has not yet been found.

PROVINCIAL.

Spies and Chartists.—The Birmingham town council have lately been occupied in a very important inquiry—the existence of the spy system while the police of that town was in the hands of government. After the royal charter of incorporation had been granted, doubts of its validity were entertained, and while the question was under debate in the courts of law, government took on itself to manage the police, and appointed a commissioner who had power to tax the inhabitants, and was responsible only to the Home Secretary. It is no matter of surprise that under this beautiful arrangement the spy system should flourish. Though long suspected, it has, however, been only just brought to light, in the following manner. Mr Sturge addressed a letter to the town council, stating that he had evidence in his possession that a person had been employed in the police, while taking a prominent part in chartist meetings; and requested a committee to examine the matter. The committee reported on Friday last, that a man named William Barlow, of No. 4, Leek st, had been in the police from December 1840, to May 1842, and that during the time he was in the force, no police uniform was supplied to him. It appears that this man took a prominent position among the chartists of Birmingham during the whole of the above period, and towards the latter part of the time conducted himself in such a manner as excited their suspicion — his attendance at their meetings was very regular. At one time he acted as secretary, and got up a public meeting in the Town hall for Mr Feargus O'Connor. No less than fourteen of the town councillors of Birmingham were induced to sign the requisition for this meeting, and it was in consequence of having done so that two of their number were rejected by the Dudley magistrates as bail for Mr O'Neil in the memorable case which has lately been before parliament and the Queen's Bench. It is very ominous that all this train should have been set in motion by a police spy. An instructive lesson may be gathered from it, as to what the people have to expect when their affairs are administered by persons not directly responsible to them. The police commissioner held his appointment from the Home Secretary, and made reports to him. Even the town council have been unable to obtain from that grave of liberty, the home office, papers deposited there which it is believed would afford evidence of spy doings in Birmingham of a most fearful and extensive character.

DURHAM ELECTION.

In the postscript of our last number, we were enabled to give the state of the poll up to 12 o'clock. After that time, however, the majority for Lord Dungannon continued to increase, and at the close of the poll, the numbers were—Mr Bright, 406; Lord Dungannon, 507. The tories admitted that had Mr Bright been as early in the field as his opponent, he would have been at the head of the poll. The following is Mr Bright's own account of the election, given to the meeting at Drury lane on Wednesday evening:—

"When the show of hands was taken, some thirty were held up for his opponent, and apparently every other hand in that vast assembly was in his (Mr Bright's) favour. When it was considered that Durham was a cathedral city—that his opponent was a gentleman of high station—that the Marquess of Londonderry had an enormous and most unconstitutional influence in that borough, and had for years maintained a large number of freemen in Durham, some said, for the express purpose of influencing the election of members for that city, and that on this occasion that nobleman was able to poll 80 or 100 freemen all at once, as certainly as if he had been permitted to write his name on the poll books with 100 votes opposite to it—that his opponent had had the advantage of a week's canvass, that he was a titled person, who had formerly represented the city—considering all these things, and that he (Mr Bright) had polled more votes than any liberal candidate since the passing of the Reform bill—that he had polled 406 votes against his opponent's 507—that the whole expense on his (Mr Bright's) part had not exceeded £50 or £60, and that not one farthing had been expended in drinking. Considering, he said, all these things, he thought that there was to be seen a presage of no very distant triumph."

The following address has been presented to Mr Bright, by the Sunderland Complete Suffrage association, in honour of his manly avowal of the principles of complete representation:—

To John Bright, Esq., of Rochdale.

Dear Sir. — The Complete Suffrage association of Sunderland tender you their warmest thanks for the manly, energetic, and principled manner in which you contested the city of Durham at the election that took place this week.

This association feel assured that your love for the people will not now be less warm and ardent than it has hitherto been, as the people of Durham promptly recognised and embraced the great principles you propounded and did their duty to you and to themselves by electing you their representative. It is true you are not in parliament, but the poor, disappointed people are not to blame for that—it was the aristocratic election laws that returned your aristocratic competitor. Let this not be forgotten by you and your friends. Indeed, we exhort you and your friends to assume as an axiom, that the people are with you, if you have the honesty and the courage to be with them. The bulk of the people are always true at heart, and know instinctively a true hearted man, and heartily respond to an appeal to their better nature. They need not banners, nor bands, nor bribes, to make them patriots—the British people have ever been true and ardent patriots. Yet what has been the reward of their patriotism? Not encouragement—not kindness—not thanks; but discouragement, unkindness, unthankfulness; and often base treachery, as many of the men of the people have turned traitors. Be you but true to the people, and the people will be true to you.

This association congratulate themselves in having to enumerate you—so talented and so naturally noble—as an advocate of those glorious principles for the practical realisation of which they have resolved to labour until death.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,
THOMAS THOMPSON, secretary.
Ward terrace, Bishop Wearmouth, 6th April, 1843.

NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

The nomination of candidates took place on Wednesday, in the Exchange hall. The Right Hon. Lord Rancliffe nominated Mr Gisborne, and said that he advocated, as he had done in 1812, universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot. S. Bean, Esq. (president of the Complete Suffrage association), briefly seconded the nomination. T. B. Charlton, Esq., then rose to propose a candidate, who (he said) was every way worthy of the electors' approval; he meant John Walter, jun., Esq. Mr Charlton endeavoured to make himself heard, but none but those immediately around him could hear what he advanced. Mr J. Parer seconded the nomination. Mr J. Sweet, seconded by Mr Roberts, then nominated F. O'Connor, Esq. Mr F. Melville then rose, and being seconded by Mr C. Wilcockson, nominated Mr Tyas, of the *Times* office. Thomas Gisborne, Esq., on rising to deliver his sentiments, was received with the most unbounded applause, and was listened to with the utmost attention. In the course of an admirable address he vindicated the right of the working classes to the possession of the suffrage, and declared that for twelve years he had supported the whigs in parliament, principally to keep out the tories. His opponent, Mr Walter, in his introductory address to the electors, had mysteriously hinted that it was unsafe for himself to appear in Nottingham until the day of nomination; now he (Mr Gisborne) maintained the opinion, that if there was no roguery there was no danger. Mr Walter therefore had afforded *prima facie* evidence of his intention to use illegal means to secure his return. Mr Gisborne then announced himself as an opponent of church rates, of the corn laws, of excessive taxation, and of ecclesiastical courts, which he denounced as being little better than dens of thieves.

With respect to the suffrage, he said—

With respect to the important question of the suffrage, he had always held that in no hands could that important right be so well placed, as in those of the great body of the people. He would have no limitation, except there should be a register so as to stop the rogue from voting fourteen or fifteen times, to the prejudice of the honest man whose conscience would not allow him to vote more than once. He had looked at all classes to see in the hands of which the suffrage could best be placed—he had found no class who would not use it for party purposes, and he therefore came to the conclusion that it was among the people at large that it ought to be placed. Had not those in whose hands it now was, abused their trust? Had they not sent a House of Commons who were passing bad laws? The constituencies were far behind the body of the people in intelligence, and that the legislature were the same; the body of the people were in advance of both.

He would do his best, if sent to parliament, to meet the wishes of his constituency, and should they feel themselves justified in condemning his course of conduct, he would most cheerfully resign the charge into the hands of any other person who may serve them more faithfully and efficiently. Mr Gisborne sat down amid immense cheering.

Mr Walter, jun., then presented himself, and endeavoured to speak. After having delivered his sentiments, and breaking down several times, amid much groaning and derisive laughter, he sat down. Mr O'Connor then occupied much time, and, in the course of his remarks, accused Mr Walter of selling the *Times* paper and deserting his principles for the sake of £187,000, which (said O'Connor) he received through the hands of Lord Ashburton. This Mr Walter distinctly denied. In answer to Mr O'Connor, Mr Gisborne would not pledge himself to support the charter, but thought he had sufficiently explained his principles to prevent misconception. There was but one point to which he demurred, which was the question of annual parliaments; but he thought that had better be decided by the wishes of constituents. Mr O'Connor and Mr Tyas having withdrawn their names as candidates, a show of hands was taken. It proved to be nearly unanimous in favour of Mr Gisborne. A poll was then demanded by the tories, and the proceedings terminated at two o'clock.

On Thursday the polling took place. It is understood that on the tory side breakfasts were prepared, and the voters brought thence to the poll. The first hour gave Walter a majority of 64; the numbers being—Walter 455, and Gisborne 391. At ten o'clock Walter's majority was reduced to 39; the scale now turned, and at eleven Gisborne had a majority of 112, the numbers being—Gisborne 1,291, Walter 1179. At twelve, after brisk polling on both sides, Gisborne's majority was reduced to 91. The excitement now became great. At one, Gisborne had raised his majority to 127; afterwards the scale again slightly turned, and at two Gisborne's majority was reduced to 117. At half-past two, Gisborne had polled 1786, and Walter 1672, leaving the former a majority of 114; at a quarter to three the numbers were, Gisborne, 1802, Walter, 1681—majority for Gisborne, 121. It was now observed that Mr Gisborne had polled one more than Mr Sturge did at the last election, and it was also noticed that the tories began to show signs of despair. At three the majority for Gisborne was 119. When the clock struck four, the shouts of assembled thousands announced the victory.

Gisborne	1854
Walter	1736
Majority for Gisborne	118

Mr Gisborne, attended by Lord Rancliffe, Mr Duncombe, and others, then addressed the people in animated speeches. In reply to the statements of the *Times*, and other tory papers, as to the election having been gained by bribery, a correspondent upon whom we can rely, says that there is no foundation for the statement, and merely a *ruse* to cover the defeat of Mr Walter.

Bucks County Meeting.—On Saturday, a public meeting of the electors, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of Buckingham, convened by the high sheriff, was held at the County hall, in Aylesbury, "for the purpose of considering the distressed state of the agricultural and labouring classes, occasioned by the new tariff, and of obtaining from them that redress which justice demands and the present condition of the country renders indispensably necessary. James Trevor Senior, Esq., high sheriff, took the chair. Amongst the nobility and landed proprietors present, we observed the Earl Stanhope, Lord Nugent, Sir J. Dashwood King, Bart., Sir Harry Verney, Captain Pinfold, W. M. Sleigh, Esq., M.D., William Rickford, Esq., and a numerous body of leading farmers. The body of the court was densely crowded. Earl Stanhope appears to have been the chief mover in the affair as well as the chief speaker. He moved a resolution affirming that agriculture had not sufficient protection. He was seconded by Dr Sleigh. Lord Nugent, however, moved an amendment to the following effect:—

"That it appears to this meeting that every successive law passed for regulating the price of agricultural produce under the name of protection, from the law of 1815 to that of 1842, has had the effect of lowering instead of raising its price, and of greatly advocating the fluctuations and uncertainty of markets in a

manner injurious to the consumer, and consequently to the farmer. That it impoverishes his customers, and makes him dependent on the speculation of importers and contractors, instead of upon his own skill and industry, operating under a system of prices regulated by the natural and steady balance of demand and supply."

Sir Harry Verney proposed also a sort of go-between amendment. Both the amendments were, however, rejected, and Lord Stanhope's resolution carried by a considerable majority. A good deal of amusement was caused by frequent calls for "the farmer's friend," the Duke of Buckingham. Petitions to both Houses of Parliament were adopted.

REPRESENTATION OF EAST SUFFOLK.—The death of Sir C. B. Vere, M.P., on Saturday last, creating a vacancy in the representation of East Suffolk, both political parties in this district were soon upon the alert. Shafto Adair, Esq., of Flixton, was first in the field upon reform principles; but the tories, though anxious, hung back until a requisition could be got up and presented to Lord Rendlesham, who, returning a gracious answer, placed himself in the position of the opposing candidate. — *Suffolk Chronicle.*

ASSIZE INTELLIGENCE.

WITCHCRAFT.—At Cornwall assizes, Bodmin, Fred. Peter Hatton, a country-looking bumpkin, was indicted under the 9th George II., for pretending to exercise witchcraft, and thereby obtaining the sum of 3s. from one Jenny Francis. The prosecutrix was an old woman who had consulted the conjuror respecting a lost heifer. This case was not made out, and the jury, under the direction of the judge, returned a verdict of not guilty. It was then stated, to the evident surprise of the learned judge (Cresswell), that there was another indictment upon which the prisoner must be tried, and it turned out, indeed, that there were four against him for the same offence. In the next case, also, the "learned Theban" had been consulted by a person who had had cattle die in a suspicious manner—an intelligent and respectable-looking farmer, who ought to have known better, named Nottle. The directions which the prisoner had given, in order to discover the person suspected of having poisoned them, were as follows: —"When you get home, kill the calf (which was one of the cattle ill), and take out his heart. You must stick this heart full of pins, and, writing the name of the person you suspect, must pin it to the heart. You must then roast and burn the heart to a cinder, and whilst this operation is going on you must read over the 35th Psalm three times." On receiving these instructions, prosecutor asked what he had to pay? The prisoner replied, that he usually charged 1*l.* for this job, but that he would charge him only 10s. The money was paid. The prisoner was found guilty upon this indictment, but an arrest of judgment was moved on a technical objection to the form of the indictment. The prisoner had to be tried on a third case, which was postponed.

A WOMAN CONDEMNED TO DEATH.—At the South Lancashire assizes, on Tuesday, Betty Eccles, 38, was charged with the wilful murder of William Eccles, at Bolton; also further charged with the wilful murder of Alice Haslam; and also further charged with the wilful murder of Nancy Haslam. The prisoner, in a firm tone of voice, pleaded "Not guilty." Mr Armstrong stated the case.

The prisoner, Betty Eccles, was charged with the wilful murder of William Eccles by poison. The deceased was her step-son. Henry Eccles, the father, married the prisoner at the beginning of 1841. At that time she had one child, since dead, having had a large family, all of whom were now dead. Henry Eccles had three children; William the subject of the present inquiry, Richard, and Mary. Henry Eccles was at work with Messrs Worrall, in Manchester, and returned home only on Saturday evenings. Betty Eccles took care of the children; William was the eldest, Richard was about twelve, and Mary about nine or ten years of age; and then she had her own child, who died a few weeks before. On the 26th of September William Eccles was at work at his master's, and died on the same day. The girl, Alice Haslam, died about three weeks before; and he should tender the evidence of that in explanation of this matter. He should not state what was the cause of her death, but he should tender the death of Alice Haslam in explanation of this. The boy was well at dinner time, and was dead at eight o'clock. There was an inquisition, and there was a medical examination; and the medical gentlemen would tell the jury that he had died of poison, and that that poison was arsenic.

After stating the circumstances of the case, the learned counsel said it would be for the jury to say, after they had heard the evidence, whether there was any doubt in their minds that the prisoner administered the poison.

The case was clearly proved, and a verdict given accordingly; and in passing sentence, the judge (Baron Parke) said, "I believe I may say, from the evidence brought before the jury, and which might have been brought, that in the annals of crime, great and odious as the crimes are that have been committed by human beings, there are none equal to yours." She was condemned to be hanged. The prisoner heard her sentence with firmness; and, at its conclusion, she clasped her hands, and exclaimed, I ask for mercy, my lord.—The Judge: Oh, that cannot be obtained.—Prisoner: Oh, mercy, my lord. If only you will have mercy on me this time, my lord.—The Judge: Take her down.—The prisoner was then removed.

THE CHAIN PIER, BRIGHTON.—The workmen employed at the Artesian well, at the head of the chain pier, have succeeded in obtaining a plentiful supply of fresh water at a depth of two hundred feet from the level of the Marine parade. The directors intend erecting an ornamental fountain in the centre of the promenade, affording a continual stream of spring water from beneath the ocean.

NEW USE OF RAILROAD TUNNELS.—On Monday last, as Superintendent Ashton, of the Beds rural police, was returning from London by the Birmingham railway, with a prisoner named Joseph Pain, in passing through the Watford tunnel the prisoner jumped out of the carriage. The Superintendent got down at the next station and returned in pursuit of the daring fugitive, but nothing was found but his hat.

DREADFUL COLLIERY EXPLOSION.—A fearful catastrophe occurred on Wednesday morning, shortly before eight o'clock, in the Stormont Main colliery, the property of Mr John Grace and partners, at Wreckington, about two miles from Newcastle, and was attended by a tremendous sacrifice of human life, there having been twenty-seven men and boys killed, and six or seven others seriously injured. The men employed at the mouth of the pit had no conception that such an accident had occurred until a boy was drawn up much burnt; and even then they were made aware of but a small extent of the calamity. There were upwards of fifty persons engaged in the pit at the time, and of these more than thirty worked in the western division of the mine, where the explosion occurred. The damage done to the pit is very trifling, scarcely exceeding in value a few shillings, not so much as a prop having been driven from its place. Nor did the bodies of the sufferers present any of those harrowing features which are generally witnessed after an explosion; very few were burnt at all, and even they comparatively slightly, while the majority were perfectly uninjured. The most current explanation of the affair is, that while Mr Matthias Gray, the underviewer (and one of the sufferers), was passing a working which had been for some days considered to be in a dangerous state, the foul air was ignited by his light, and the men who were employed on both sides of that place were those who perished. An inquest was held on Thursday, at the Half-moon inn, Wreckington, before Mr J. M. Favell, coroner, and after a protracted investigation without discovering the immediate cause of the explosion, a verdict of "Accidental death" was returned.

THE INTENDED REGICIDE.—John Richmond Ellis has been ordered to find bail for twelve months, at Rochester, for threatening to assassinate the Queen and Sir Robert Peel, which he did when he was drunk. He said that his father, who had been dead twenty-one years, was a captain in the navy. Bail not offering, Ellis was sent to prison, where he will probably remain for the year.

IRELAND.

ATHLONE ELECTION.—The election closed on the 4th instant, when the high sheriff, George A. Boyde, Esq., declared the numbers as follows:—

For Collett	114
For Beresford	108
Majority for Collett	6

There was great excitement, but no riots had taken place. It is said that there will be a petition, and that Collett will be unseated.

THE REV. MR DICKIE, OF RATHFRILAND. — We are happy to learn that this reverend gentleman has so far recovered from the effects of the gun-shot wounds that he was able to appear in his pulpit last Sunday.—*Newry Telegraph.*

MAIL COACH AGITATION.—An unpleasant feeling has been created in Dublin by the conduct of government in depriving Mr Peter Purcell and his partners, Messrs Bourne and Hartley, of the usual contract to supply mail coaches. Twenty years ago, says the Dublin *Mercantile Advertiser*, no mail or stage coaches were built in Ireland, but they were all supplied from England. Mr Purcell and his partners, however, with much enterprise, established a manufactory, at which all public coaches have since been built, under contracts of five years' duration. The current contract expires in May, and advertisements were issued for tenders. Three tenders were sent in—one by a firm in London, which was rejected; another by the present contractors, offering the old terms; and a third, by Mr Croal, a Scotch gentleman, offering lower terms; which last was accepted. The *Dublin Monitor* says that the accepted tender was not in the terms of the advertisement; which invited tenders for the supply of new mail coaches, whereas Mr Croal is to supply old mail coaches—those thrown out of use by railroads in England and Scotland. The first effect of the change is, that the factory of the Dublin firm is to be closed immediately. A meeting of merchants was held on Monday, the Mayor in the chair, to adopt a remonstrance with Lord de Grey on the subject; and the Lord Mayor was requested to obtain an interview with the Lord Lieutenant. He told them that he would forward their representations on the subject to the proper department.

YEOMANRY.—A parliamentary return, just published, of the number and expenses of the effective yeomanry of Great Britain in the year 1842, states the number of troops to have been 247, containing 831 officers and 13,358 men, the total expense connected with whose maintenance was £101,831 8s. 11d. The amount voted by parliament was £82,458, thus showing the excess of expenditure beyond the vote of parliament to have been £19,373 8s. 11d. The reason of the excess arose from unforeseen charges on account of corps called out in aid of the civil power. Six yeomanry corps, containing six troops and 472 men, now serving gratuitously, are to be placed upon the permanent establishment from the first of next month; and seven additional corps, to consist of 16 troops and 935 men, are expected to be raised for the year 1843.

The principal bankers of Leeds have given public notice that henceforth they will allow no more than 2 per cent. on deposits.

Literature.

Aphorisms and Reflections: a Miscellany of Thoughts and Opinion. By WILLIAM BENTON CLULOW. London: Murray. 1843.

'A PROPOSITION expressed in the form of an aphorism communicates more pleasure, or more dislike, than when delivered in a different shape. If approved, its compression, and consequent separation from extraneous ideas, increase its force, and enhance the delight which it imparts; but if disapproved, its condensation only renders it more repulsive. Had the same sentiment been conveyed in a less concentrated manner, it would have been mingled with other reflections, or with gleams of fancy, some of which might have served to divide attention, if not to gratify. Or the very attempt to exhibit it in a favourable light, or to connect it with argumentation, would have diminished the offence by the deference and compliment thus indirectly conceded to its opponents."

So writes the author of the volume before us; affording thus the criterion by which his own production must be tested. Nor can we hesitate in pronouncing it to be true metal. The book is, as its title indicates, a miscellany of opinions upon men and things; upon literature, philosophy, and politics; upon morals and religion. But it is not what Milton styles "a paroxysm of pampered metaphors and aphorisming pedantry." It is replete, if not with wit, yet with true taste, great penetration, and sound wisdom; written in a style compact, nervous, and even classical, and in a tone which is firm without egotism, and grave without being pompous and bombastic. It does great honour to the classical tutor of Airedale college, Bradford, and is, we believe, a *rifacciamento* of a work formerly published under the title of "Horæ Otiosæ," much praised by the late Sir J. Mackintosh.

The contents are summed up under the following heads, which, we regret to say, are the only index furnished:—On Character—on Mind, Studies, and Intellectual Habits—on Life, Men, and Manners—on Happiness—on Fancy and Imagination—on Authors, Style, and Literature—on Youth and Old Age—on Fame—on Riches and Poverty—on Miscellaneous Points in Morals—on Subjects connected with Religion. Except that the aphorisms are ranged under these heads they are somewhat loosely distributed; and we have observed instances in which family subjects are very uncomfortably separated.

Mr Clulow does not cater for the million; nor can we help admiring the three-fold defence which must have been around his breastplate when he committed a bark so freighted, not to the deeps, but the shallows of a modern sea. It is not for us, however, to regret a bravery by which we have gained so much. And without claiming for the book the praise of being wholly original, which, whoever imagines, "thinks that which ne'er hath been, nor e'er shall be," or without even going so far as to think that every form in which his subjects are exhibited is entirely new, we feel persuaded that nothing is presented to the public which has not undergone transfusion through the author's own mind. There is much thought and information, yet we are never made painfully aware of it. And we are sometimes really amused at the perfect simplicity with which, as something is required for his purpose, he lights his candle and leads us down into the crypts of literature—ringing as he passes every cask of the Old English sherris and malmsey, and every amphora of the more ancient Falernian, giving us a word or two as to the contents and flavour of each—as if all this were a matter of every-day custom, and nothing to be wondered at.

Some of the chapters to which our readers may turn with the deepest interest will disappoint their expectation. The subject of politics is taken, for instance, by the roots rather than the branches. So far from affording anything to the partisan, the current topics of the day are not even alluded to; and we are left in doubt about the blue, yellow, or green, of Mr Clulow's creed. We admire the mind which can live, like the spirit in Comus,

> "In regions mild, of bright and serene air,
> Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,
> Which men call earth."

Yet we confess we could have been well content, had the expressed opinions been a little more definite; and, for ourselves, have never yet been able to attain to Martinus Scriblerus's perfect conception of a lord mayor.

As we are complaining, we will take the opportunity of saying that some of the subjects treated of in the last chapter are worthy of somewhat warmer hues; and of suggesting that there is danger in conducting a casual reader to the brink of a moral precipice, without having first placed some *chevaux de frize* around it. Even the noble candour of a well-regulated mind may somewhat mislead the ignorant.

It would be perhaps only fair to enter into detail in justification of our criticism, but our limits forbid it. On literary subjects in general, we think that Mr C. may be safely trusted; but what shall we say to the paradox of "the considerable affinity between the intellectual characters of Byron and Johnson?"

We fear, lest, by the tone of our exceptions, we may seem to depreciate the really very high merits of the work. To many readers this book will prove a kind of intellectual comfit-box, out of

which they can take a *bon bon* of any variety, whenever they wish to have a pleasant taste in their mouths; and, to others, an importation of new and precious seeds of reflection, which it will be pleasant to sow in their own minds, and which will blossom and bear fruit hereafter.

We conclude with a few extracts. The first contains a somewhat extraordinary, and certainly original notion. We wish Mr Clulow had suggested the exponents:—

"Might there not be a kind of original dialect, or algebra of speech, to be confined, of course, to intellectual men, which should include little more than the leading conceptions, in as few words as possible. In this case, would not the subject be more vigorously grasped than when spread out into a wider space? And might not such a compression of sentiment and diction be especially serviceable in argumentative essays, by keeping the attention fixed upon the demonstration, without being diverted by the phraseology. The substance of 'Edwards on the Will'—one of the closest and most compact logical pieces ever produced, and from which a philosophical reader would hesitate in wishing a sentence subtracted—might thus perhaps be presented, advantageously for the purposes of comprehension whether before or after perusal, within limits remarkably concise. Some such process, in fact, is performed internally by every discursive and powerful intellect, which resolves, concentrates, and reduces to manageable dimensions, the materials submitted to its examination, operating in matters of thought somewhat as an inverted telescope in perspective, by which the largest object, or a landscape itself, is embraced within the compass of a point."—p. 320.

We like this scheme better than that by which the Laputans endeavoured to supply an universal language. It is more portable, and decidedly more intellectual.

The aphorisms which follow have some relationship:—

"Condensation results from the mastery of a subject. It is imperfection of view or imbecility that occasions diffuseness; and to such a cause, rather than amplitude of resources or invention, that we owe the generality of bulky tomes; for great books, like large skulls, have often the least brains."—p. 89.

"Perhaps the leading distinction of superior intellect is a power of compression; a faculty which pre-supposes that of generalisation. A subordinate understanding never perceives more than certain fragments, or mutilated portions of a subject—surveying the field of thought as a landscape through a tube."—p. 103.

"Compression of style is usually the effect of compression of thought. But a wide disparity usually exists between the space which a subject occupies in the understanding, and that which it fills when embodied in words—resembling, in the former case, the genii in the Arabian tale, while shut up in the copper vessel; in the latter, the monster when he had emerged in the shape of an enormous mist."—p. 303.

The next observation is strikingly true.

"Natures that move principally in the higher realms of thought, and, indeed, all persons of insulated habits or experience, can form but a faint idea of the modes of reflection that characterise the majority of mankind, or of the impressions which they receive from particular scenes and events. It has been said that one-half the world knows not how the other half lives; it may be said, with at least equal truth, that one-half the world knows not how the other half thinks."—p. 107.

The rest we submit without comment.

"Perhaps it is questionable whether the nature of man has been developed in a degree at all proportionate to its structure and resources. What imagination could have dreamed, in the earlier ages of the world, that he was capable of those varieties of action which he has since exhibited? or that so peculiar a combination of mental and moral qualities was possible, as some persons have possessed? If we can conceive that with the same faculties and susceptibilities, mankind could be placed under a new system of external influence, may we not conclude that their characters would be so differently moulded that they might almost pass for another order of beings? Fancy for a moment the disparity between the attributes of a person, while an inhabitant of earth, and when existing in a spiritual or disembodied state. To what could the alteration be ascribed, but to the change in his circumstances, or his introduction to new scenes, and exposure to a new class of impressions."—p. 3.

"The possessors of knowledge have, in some instances, perhaps, more errors than the vulgar; but they have also a thousand times more truths. The ignorant have few errors, since they have but few notions of any sort. Who would disparage the faculty of vision, because, with the myriads of beautiful objects and scenes which it discloses, it occasionally reveals such as are deformed or unsightly?"—p. 50.

"There is a large fund of power in the world unappropriated and inactive; but a still larger portion misapplied and perverted. Were the mere waste talent and energy of mankind to be used aright, three-fourths of the ills that afflict the species might be overcome. If, like the lost things pictured in the allegoric scene of Ariosto, neglected or abused capabilities could be exhibited to the eye, what a curious and melancholy spectacle should we behold."—p. 133.

"There is more affection in the world than friendship, more friendship than philanthropy, and more philantropy than candour."—p. 204.

"I would rather be the author of one original thought than conqueror of a hundred battles. Yet moral excellence is so much superior to intellectual, that I ought to esteem one virtue more valuable than a hundred original thoughts"—p. 295.

"Public reformations are sure to arrive sooner or later; but who can estimate or atone for the countless sufferings occasioned by their delay, or answer for their effectual operation after they have so long been delayed? It is too late to repair the house when crumbling into ruins."—p. 381.

"Our souls, viewed in relation to the invisible state, are, perhaps, but as our bodily eyes when shut, to which the landscape is not less near than when open. To the Christian, the glories of the brighter world, though unseen, are never remote. Nothing intervenes between him and heaven but the thin veil of mortality."—p. 522.

In conclusion, we avow our conviction that this volume is not unworthy to stand by the side of the best collections of apothegms which have adorned our own or any other language.

The Master and Mistress; or Hints to the Heads of Families relative to their Servants. London: Religious Tract Society, pp. 252.

This is an important subject, which we are glad to see taken up by the Tract society. We do not profess to have very minutely examined this volume, but the matters of which it treats are very appropriate to its design. Some important remarks occur relative to the choice of servants—precautions against temptation—the regulation of servants' intercourse with children—and the causes and counteractions of profligacy in female servants. We know of no subject on which the claims of religion may be brought more appropriately to bear; nor of one on which every humble Christian ought to be more willing to receive hints for his or her guidance. The volume concludes by several appropriate anecdotes, &c., and by a list of books adapted for a kitchen library.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *The Sleeper aroused.* By A. E. Pearce.
2. *Beddome's Sermons.* Ward and Co.
3. *John Bull's Journey to the Moon.*
4. *Emigrant's Handbook of Facts.*
5. *Geology and Revelation in perfect Harmony.*
6. *The Papal and Hierarchical System compared with the Religion of the New Testament.*
7. *Lamentations in Ramah Hushed.*
8. *A Word about Infant Baptism.*
9. *Sermons by Dr M'All,* in the ordinary course of his ministry.

Religious Intelligence.

Market Deeping.—On Monday evening last, the Rev. J. R. Balm, independent minister, had presented to him, by a few female friends in the town, a beautiful copy of Cobbin's condensed Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, as a proof of their esteem for his arduous and persevering exertions in the cause of Christ, and in seeking to diffuse the everlasting gospel in the neighbourhood.

Gravesend.—The corner stone of a new baptist chapel was laid on Wednesday, the 29th ult., by the Rev. Dr Cox, accompanied by the Rev. Messrs Aldis, Bowes, Daniell, Jones, Harris, Scott, and a number of other ministers, and a very large and respectable assemblage of persons, many of them from London. The previous meeting for prayer, and all the meetings of the day connected with the undertaking, were crowded; the day was exceedingly beautiful, and the occasion altogether one long to be gratefully remembered by the friends of the cause. After the ceremony, seventy-one friends dined together; and in the evening the spacious room of the Literary institution was completely filled. After tea, powerful appeals were addressed to the assembly by the Rev. Dr Cox, Messrs Aldis, Daniell, Jones, and others, for pecuniary aid towards the building fund; and a number of friends took cards for collecting sums varying from one to ten pounds by Midsummer next.

Bratton, Wilts.—Mr G. W. Fishbourne, late of Guernsey, has accepted the unanimous invitation of the baptist church at Bratton, Wilts, to become its pastor.

The French in Tahiti.—The secretaries of the London and Wesleyan missionary societies have jointly convened a meeting of the friends of protestant missions, to be held at Exeter hall this day, for the purpose of adopting suitable measures, in consequence of the recent aggression of the French on the island of Tahiti, and for securing the general interests of protestant missions in the islands of the South Pacific.

Religious Tract Society Anniversaries.—At the close of the past month several meetings were held in connexion with the auxiliaries of the Religious Tract society, when Mr Jones, the corresponding secretary, attended as a deputation. At Northampton, on the 27th of March, William Rice, Esq., presided, in the County hall, in the absence of the president; and the Rev. E. T. Prust read the treasurer's report. The deputation and several ministers connected with the town addressed the meeting. A donation of £10 was voted to the society. The venerable W. P. Bull presided at Newport Pagnell; John Weale, Esq., at Bedford; Francis Pym, Esq., Biggleswade; and the Rev. W. Pym, M.A., rector of Willian, Herts, at Hitchin. The meetings were well attended, and the liveliest interest felt on behalf of the home and foreign operations of the parent institution. In these towns the society's tracts are extensively circulated, particularly on the loan plan, and not without evidence of spiritual good to the readers. In addition to the usual donations, we understand that the friends connected with these auxiliaries kindly and spontaneously contributed £44 1s., in aid of the special fund for publishing tracts in Chinese.

Tewkesbury.—On Tuesday evening, March 28th, 1843, an interesting meeting took place at the baptist chapel, Tewkesbury, on the occasion of the esteemed and venerable minister, the Rev. Daniel Trotman, relinquishing his pastoral office, which he had filled for more than forty years. A large and respectable company of friends took tea together; after which one of the deacons, as a representative of the church and congregation, presented Mr Trotman with a valuable piece of plate, suitably inscribed, and a purse (tastefully wrought by one of the ladies of the church), containing fifty-five sovereigns, as a token of their esteem and affection. An appropriate address was read, referring to his long and faithful services, his devotedness, his liberality, spotless reputation, and usefulness in the town and other places. Mr T. then replied in an able and affectionate speech. The Rev. John Berg, the present pastor, afterwards addressed the meeting. Thus closed a meeting the impressions of which will not soon be forgotten. A few weeks previous to the above meeting the members of his bible class presented Mr T. with a handsome silver cups.

MARRIAGES.

April 4, at Saddington, by the Rev. Mr Ferridy, Mr Richard B. Humfrey, farmer, second son of Mr Joseph Humfrey of Countesthorpe, to Hannah, third daughter of Mr Thos Horton, of the former place, all of Leicestershire.

April 3, at East Retford, the Rev. Thomas Dove, Wesleyan missionary, from Sierra Leone, to Miss Ann Bailey, second daughter of the late Mr Alderman Bailey, of the above place. The rev. gentleman is about returning on his third mission to that important colony.

April 3, at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, Berrington street, Hereford, by the Rev. Wm Aldridge, Mr Gabriel Davies, to Miss Elizabeth Cier, both of St Weonard's, Herefordshire.

April 1, by licence, at the Independent chapel, Princess street, Devonport, by the Rev. Wm Spencer, Mr W. Pascoe Prestage, to Miss Lavinia Swanger.

April 5, at Holywell Mount chapel, by the Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D., the Rev. W. Lewis, of Frampton-on-Severn, to Mary Ann, younger daughter of Mr Ellwood, London.

April 5, at Fish street chapel, Hull, by the Rev. T. B. Pike, Mr Howarth, Clapham road, Surrey, to Sarah Roberts, eldest daughter of Mr B. Barmby, silversmith, of the former place.

March 28, at the Baptist chapel, Dudley, by the Rev. W. Rogers, the Rev. Thomas Nash, of Warwick, to Martha, eldest daughter of the late Mr W. Walters, of Bilbrooke, near Wolverhampton.

DEATHS.

April 3, aged 76, the Rev. John Mann, more than forty years pastor of the independent church at Morton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire.

April 1, at Bath, Major-general Sir Charles Broke Vere, K.C.B., and M.P. for East Suffolk, in his 65th year.

At Genoa, Lady Fanny Erskine, daughter of the late General Cadwallader, of Pennsylvania, and wife of Lord Erskine, minister at the court of Munich, aged 59.

March 28, in his 84th year, Sir George Griffiths Williams, Bart, of Llwynywormwood, Carmarthenshire.

April 5, in the 27th year of his age, much esteemed and deeply lamented, John Norton Yarnold, a beloved son of the Rev. William Yarnold, dissenting minister, Romsey, and late clerk in the Hampshire bank, at Southampton.

April 7, after a very short illness, in the 74th year of her age, Martha, the beloved wife of Nathaniel Robarts, Esq., of Barnet, Herts.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, April 7.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 85:—

Paradise chapel, Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent. J. Hinde, superintendent registrar.

The General Baptist chapel, Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire. J. Peed, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTS.

Dickin, Edward, Longdon, Shropshire, draper, April 17, May 15: solicitors, Messrs Kough and Saxton, Shrewsbury, and Messrs Tyndal and Son, Birmingham.

Fuller, John Henry, Flixton and Manchester, logwood grinder, April 19, May 9: solicitors, Mr J. Barratt, jun., Manchester, and Messrs Bower and Back, 46, Chancery lane, London.

George, John, 62, Bread street, Cheapside, City, and 5, James street, Hare street, Bethnal green, silk manufacturer, April 22, May 19: solicitor, Mr Clark, 28, Finsbury place, Finsbury.

Lewis, Henry, Haverfordwest, cabinet maker, April 21, May 19: solicitor, Mr Haberfield, Bristol.

Norman, John, Wadebridge, Cornwall, grocer, April 20, May 17: solicitors, Messrs Lofty and Potter, King street, Cheapside, London, and Mr J. Stogdon, Exeter.

Redmund, David, and Gollop, John, 68, Charles street, City road, hinge manufacturers, April 21, May 23: solicitors, Messrs Smithson and Mitton, Southampton buildings, Holborn.

Rolf, Thomas, 29, New Bridge street, City, merchant, April 22, May 19: solicitors, Messrs Lawrance and Blenkarne, Bucklersbury.

Shaw, John, late of Seymour place, Camden Town, builder, April 21, May 19: solicitors, Messrs Pain and Hatherly, 5, Great Marlborough street.

Vines, Benjamin, Poole, grocer, April 19, May 23: solicitor, Mr H. Terrell, Basinghall street.

Walne, James Cop, late of Stowmarket, Suffolk, wine merchant, April 19, May 17: solicitors, Messrs Jones and Co., John street, Bedford row.

Whitaker, John, New Church, Lancashire, woolen manufacturer, April 21, May 12: solicitors, Mr W. C. Chew, Manchester, Mr J. Hargreaves, Newchurch, and Messrs Milne and Co., Temple, London.

Whiteley, Thomas Milne, Liverpool, hatter, April 26, May 26: solicitor, Mr J. Wason, Liverpool.

Willsmer, Charles, Tillingham, Essex, draper, April 18, May 19: solicitor, Mr Ashurst, Cheapside.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Duff, James, late of Rhideroch, but now of Whitefield, Perthshire, grazier, April 15, May 13.

Horne, William, Scouthel and Edinburgh, cattle dealer, April 10, May 1.

Monteath, James, Alva, manufacturer, April 13, May 1.

Tuesday, April 11.

BANKRUPTS.

Bates, William, 5, Welbeck street, Cavendish square, auctioneer, April 25, May 22: solicitor, Mr Lane, Argyle street.

Bentlie, Henry, Maidstone, Kent, linendraper, April 25, May 22: solicitor, Mr Lloyd, Cheapside.

Bowie, John, Shoe lane, City, grocer, April 22, May 19: solicitors, Messrs Amory and Co., Throgmorton street.

Cumming, John, 206, Tottenham court road, furrier, April 22, May 19: solicitor, Mr William Cox, Pinners' hall, Broad street.

Harrington, James, and Pattinson, William, Woodbank, Cumberland, calico printers, April 21, May 17: solicitors, Mr George Gill Mounsey, Carlisle, and Messrs Mounsey and Gray, London.

Hawkings, John, 6, Lisson grove, Marylebone, upholsterer, April 21, May 23: solicitor, Mr Bicknell, Manchester street, Manchester square.

Ivory, John, Meppershall, Bedfordshire, farmer, April 27, May 23: solicitors, Mr E. Lambert, Gray's inn, and Mr Hunt, Luton.

Jenkins, Michael Robert, Greenwich, Kent, tavern keeper, April 24, May 23: solicitors, Messrs Selbys, Serjeants' inn.

Jenkyns, Francis, and Hardyman, John Hay, Love lane, Eastcheap, City, merchants, April 20, May 19: solicitor, Mr Ashurst, Cheapside.

Mott, William, 278, Regent street, Piccadilly, laceman, April 22, May 19: solicitor, Mr Herbert Lloyd, 61, Cheapside.

Roberts, Frederic, New Bond street, and Gower street North, coal merchant, April 22, May 19: solicitor, Mr William Dawes, 15, Serjeant's inn, Fleet street.

Sayle, Benjamin, and Booth, Thomas, Sheffield, and Tinsley park, Yorkshire, iron masters, April 24, June 1: solicitors, Mr Lechmere, Southampton buildings, and Messrs Wheats and Staniforth, Sheffield.

Stretch, James, and Wharton, Ralph, Nottingham, engineers, April 18, May 12: solicitors, Messrs Cursham and Campbell, Nottingham.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Aytown, Roger, Edinburgh, writer to the signet, April 18, May 9.

Eddie, James, Aidrie, ironmonger, April 18, May 8.

Finlay, Valter, Drumsleed, Kincardineshire, farmer, April 17, May 8.

Moubray, James, Tullibody and Cambas, Clackmannan, distillers, April 17, May 8.

Smith, John, and Wright, Thomas, Edinburgh, china merchants, April 19, May 17.

BRITISH FUNDS.

The funds continue firm at advanced prices, but very little business is doing.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols	97	97	96⅞	97	97	97
Ditto for Account.	97	97	96⅞	97	97	97⅛
3 per cents Reduced	—	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛	96⅛
3½ per cts. Reduced	101⅜	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛	101⅛
New 3½ per cent....	102⅜	102⅜	102⅛	102⅜	102⅜	102⅜
Long Annuities ..	—	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛
Bank Stock	—	184½	184½	184	184	184
India Stock	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer Bills...	69pm	66pm	68pm	67pm	66pm	66pm
India Bonds	77pm	75pm	76pm	76pm	—	—

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham and Derby	42	London and Brighton ..	35½
Birmingham & Gloucester	50	London & CroydonTrunk	11½
Blackwall	6	London and Greenwich	5½
Bristol and Exeter	57	Ditto New	—
Cheltenham & Gt. Western	31	Manchester & Birm.....	22
Eastern Counties	10⅜	Manchester and Leeds	81
Edinburgh and Glasgow	49	Midland Counties	63½
Great North of England..	60	Ditto Quarter Shares ..	—
Great Western	95	North Midland	68
Ditto New	68	Ditto New	33½
Ditto Fifths	18	South Eastern and Dover	25½
London and Birmingham	213	South Western	64⅜
Ditto Quarter Shares	52	Ditto New	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Austrian	—	Mexican	30⅛
Belgian	105	Peruvian	20¼
Brazilian	75⅛	Portuguese 5 per cents	71
Buenos Ayres	29	Ditto 3 per cents	—
Columbian	25⅛	Russian	113¾
Danish	87	Spanish Active	23⅛
Dutch 2½ per cents	56½	Ditto Passive	5¼
Ditto 5 per cents	100	Ditto Deferred	13¾

MARKETS.

GRAIN, Mark Lane, April 10.

There was a large show of wheat to-day from the near counties. The condition being better, the select samples obtained 1s. to 2s., and the general runs 1s., advance on the prices of this day week. In foreign, free or bonded, very little business was done, and no improvement could be obtained.

The malting season being about to close, fine barley was in little demand, whilst grinding and distilling qualities obtained rather more money.

Fine oats have rather given way in price, but the better descriptions have maintained value.

In beans and peas no alteration.

	s.	s.		s.	s.
Wheat, Red New ..	42	to 46	Malt, Ordinary ..	42	to 52
Fine	46	.. 49	Pale	54	.. 58
White	46	.. 50	Peas, Hog	26	.. 28
Fine	50	.. 55	Maple	29	.. 31
Rye	32	.. 36	Boilers	30	.. 32
Barley	24	.. 28	Beans, Ticks.....	24	.. 28
Malting	28	to 34			

	s.	s.	DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN.		
Beans, Pigeon	29	to 31	Wheat	20s.	0d.
Harrow	26	.. 30	Barley	9	0
Oats, Feed	15	.. 18	Oats	8	0
Fine	20	.. 21	Rye	11	6
Poland	19	.. 21	Beans	11	6
Potato	19	.. 21	Peas	11	6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR APRIL 7.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.		
Wheat	46s.	2d.	Wheat	47s.	7d.
Barley	28	6	Barley	27	10
Oats	17	4	Oats	17	3
Rye	29	4	Rye	28	6
Beans	26	0	Beans	26	6
Peas	28	5	Peas	29	0

SEEDS.

There was very little business done in the seed market. A few orders for white clover continue; and, the article being scarce, it brought quite as much money.

Linseed	per qr		Clover	per cwt	
English, sowing	48s.	to 56s.	English, red....	42s.	to 60s.
Baltic, ditto	—	.. —	Ditto, white	44	.. 62
Ditto, crushing ..	42	.. 45	Flemish, red ..	44	.. 48
Medit. & Odessa	45	.. 46	Ditto, white	52	.. 54
Hempseed, small ..	35	.. 38	New Hamb., red	—	.. —
Large	46	.. 48	Ditto, white....	40	.. 60
Canary, new	62	.. 63	Old Hamb., red	42	.. 45
Extra	64	.. 65	Ditto, white	—	.. —
Carraway, old	—	.. —	French, red	40	.. 48
New.....	42	.. 44	Ditto, white	50	.. 53
Ryegrass, English	30	.. 42	Coriander	10	.. 16
Scotch	18	.. 40	Old	16	.. 20
Mustard	per bushel		Rapeseed	per ton	
Brown, new	9	.. 11	English, new ..	31l.	to 33l.
White	9	.. 10 6	Linseed cakes		
Trefoil.....	18	.. 22	English ..	9l. 10s.	to 10l. 0s.
Old	12	.. 16	Foreign....	5l. 10s.	to 6l. 0s.
Tares, new.....	4	.. 5	Rapeseed cakes ..	5l. 5s.	to 6l.

PROVISIONS, London, April 10.

The demand for Irish butter was slow, and the sales small. Foreign in larger supply. The price of the best Friesland, 100s. to 106s.; Holstein, 96s. to 100s.; Holland, 88s. to 94s.; inferior, in proportion lower. In singed bacon very little stirring; no improvement in the demand or price. Nothing worth notice of bale or tierce middles, hams, or lard.

HOPS, Borough, Monday, April 10.

The hop market is steady, but business is not brisk. Pockets, 1842, Wealds, 80s. to 90s. per cwt; East Kent, 100s. to 140s.; Sussex, 77s. to 84s.; Farnham, 140s. to 150s. Pockets, 1841, Wealds, good, 60s. to 70s.; East Kent, choice, 70s. to 84s. Bags, 1841, East Kent, 60s. to 80s. Pockets, old olds, East Kent, 30s. to 50s. per cwt.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, Smithfield, Monday, April 10.

The beef trade was in a sluggish state, at a decline in the quotations obtained on Monday last of 2d. per 8lbs., and a clearance was not effected without considerable difficulty. About a moiety of the sheep were out of their wool. In the early part of the day the mutton trade was dull; but, as it advanced, the sales became steady.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	2s. 8d.	to 4s. 0d.	Veal.....	3s. 8d.	to 4s.	10d.
Mutton.....	3 0	.. 4 0	Pork.....	3 2	.. 4	0
Lamb.....	4s. 10d. to 5s. 10d.					

Head of Cattle at Smithfield.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	463	4,900	172	314
Monday	3,115	26,260	90	387

Newgate and Leadenhall Markets, Monday, April 10.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior Beef	2s. 6d.	to 2s. 8d.	Inf. Mutton	2s. 4d.	to 2s.	10d.
Middling do	2 8	.. 2 10	Mid. ditto	3 0	.. 3	4
Prime large	2 10	.. 3 2	Prime ditto	3 6	.. 3	8
Prime small	3 4	.. 3 6	Veal	3 8	.. 4	10
Large Pork	3 2	.. 3 8	Small Pork	3 10	.. 4	0
Lamb.....	4s. 10d. to 5s. 10d.					

POTATOES, Borough, Monday, April 10.

The arrivals are—from Yorkshire, 1820 tons; Scotland, 1104: Devons, 110; Kent and Essex, 115; Jersey, 110; Wisbeach, 135; total, 3394 tons.

York reds.....	60s. to 70s.	Kent, whites	45s. to 55s.
Scotch ditto	40 .. 60	Guernsey ditto ..	45 .. 55
Devons	50 .. 60	Wisbeach	45 .. 50

COTTON.

There has been a fair demand for cotton, and 5000 bales have met with buyers at steady prices. 1000 American have been taken on speculation.

WOOL.

There has been rather more doing in combing wools this week, and although prices are extremely low, we do not quote any further reduction. Clothing wools are dull of sale, though rather more inquired for than for the last few weeks, at lower prices.

HAY, Smithfield, April 8.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow	60s.	to 75s.	New Clover Hay	80s.	to 110s.	
New ditto	—	.. —	Old ditto	—	.. —	
Useful old ditto	78	.. 84	Oat Straw	46	.. 48	
Fine Upland do	85	.. 90	Wheat Straw	48	.. 50	

COAL EXCHANGE, April 10.

Hetton's, 20s. 9d.; Lambton's, 20s. 6d.; Stewart's, 20s. 9d.; Russell's, 20s. 3d. Ships arrived this week, 240.

GROCERIES, Tuesday, April 11.

TEA.—The sales by auction were at rather lower rates. Common and good common sound congous are selling at 1s. 1d to 1s. 2d. per lb. for cash, and there is a fair business doing.

COFFEE.—The market is very flat, and some small parcels offered by auction were chiefly bought in. 500 bags La Guayra fine fine ordinary quality, at 50s. to 59s. per cwt.

SUGAR.—The British plantation market is rather better, and prices are 6d. to 1s. per cwt. higher than last week for the better qualities, The refined market has also rather improved, and good standard lumps are selling at 73s. 6d. to 74s. per cwt. The foreign sugar market is rather flat, and yellow Havanna were sold at lower rates.

TALLOW.—Yellow candle is selling at 42s. 9d. to 43s. per cwt. on the spot, and 43s. 3d. 43s. 6d. per lb. for the last three months.

Advertisements.

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A LETTER to the Right Hon. Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Bart, one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, on the EDUCATIONAL CLAUSES of the FACTORIES BILL. By John Howard Hinton, M.A., one of the Secretaries of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

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FACTORIES EDUCATION BILL.
CENTRAL COMMITTEE ROOM, KING'S HEAD, POULTRY.

SEVERAL MEETINGS having taken place between various bodies interested in opposing this Bill, attended by parties acting with the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, the Committee of Deputies, the General Body of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations, the Wesleyan Committee of Privileges, the Society of Friends, the British and Foreign School Society, the Sunday-school Union, the Religious Freedom Society, the Congregational and Baptist Unions, the Methodist New Connexion, the Wesleyan Association, and other bodies, it has finally been deemed advisable to form a standing committee of conference for the purpose of mutual counsel and co-operation in opposing by all constitutional means, and through the separate agency of each of these bodies, the provisions of the Bill now before Parliament for promoting Education in Factory Districts.

A sub-committee will, therefore, now sit daily at the King's Head, Poultry, from 9 till 5, for the purpose of giving and receiving information, and furnishing instructions and drafts of petitions, and of otherwise aiding those who may be desirous of using any influence they may possess against the measure.

Communications may be addressed to the Secretary of "the United Committee for opposing the Factories Education Bill," King's Head, Poultry, London.

April 10th, 1843. ANDREW REED, D.D., Chairman.

An analysis of the Bill, with explanatory notes, is in preparation, and will be ready in a day or two.

FACTORIES AND EDUCATION BILL.

AT a MEETING of the GENERAL COMMITTEE of ESSEX DISSENTERS held at the Horn inn, Braintree, on Tuesday, April 4th, 1843, to take into consideration the bill for regulating the Employment, and for the better Education of Children in Factory Districts.

THOMAS BUTLER, Esq., in the Chair,

Resolved — That the universal education of the labouring classes of this country, is an object of paramount importance to their own well being, and to the safety, honour, and welfare, of the entire community: but that, in the deliberate and well-considered opinion of this General Committee of Essex Dissenters, the bill now presented to parliament altogether fails in the most essential conditions of a system of national education, for a people comprising many diversities of religious belief, and amongst whom a very large proportion are earnestly struggling to maintain the right of private judgment and liberty of conscience, against the pretensions of a dominant hierarchy to interpret scripture and establish creeds.

Because it is directly calculated to put down existing British and Sunday schools, and to discourage all voluntary exertions in the cause of popular education out of the pale of the established church.

Because it is an interdict against school teachers and masters who cannot bow the knee to episcopacy.

Because the constitution of the board of Trustees would render it little more than the subservient tool of the ex-officio chairman, and permanent clerical trustee.

Because while compulsory education under the most impartial regulations may be a matter of somewhat doubtful propriety—compulsory education in a certain form; the interdiction of education in a cottage home, compulsion upon all dissenters among the working classes to send their children to schools where the master must be a churchman—where all books are subject to the censorship of trustees under clerical influence, and the Bible itself subject to their selection of texts and lessons, where the children are either expressly taught from the church catechism and liturgy, or cut off from any special religious instruction whatever, and under circumstances of unavoidable humiliation are to be in some way occupied, while for one hour out of three the master is exclusively engaged with his own more favoured pupils—because compulsory education, under regulations of this partial and oppressive character, must necessarily outrage the religious feelings of all classes of dissenting parents, and train up all dissenting children under a sense of class degradation—and, finally, because the compulsory payment by dissenters, for a compulsory system of education for their children, repugnant to their principles, and offensive to their habits and feelings, can never be reconciled to their sense of natural justice, or their aspirations for religious freedom.

(Signed) THOMAS BUTLER.

FACTORY EDUCATION BILL.

AT a MEETING of the DIRECTORS of the HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, held on TUESDAY, the 4th of April,

BENJAMIN HANBURY, Esq., in the Chair,

the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, after a full consideration of the Factory Bill now before Parliament:—

I. That the Directors of the Home Missionary Society have, from the commencement of the Institution, zealously promoted the Christian education of children, and have at this time between two and three hondred Sunday and week-day schools, containing upwards of twelve thousand children, under the care of their Missionaries.

II. That though they earnestly desire the extension of a suitable plan of education, they cannot but view with great alarm the Factories Education Bill now before parliament, and for the following reasons:—

1. It will place all the children who attend the proposed schools under the control and caprice of clerical trustees, both as it regards education and employment, thus legally giving up to the clergy the intellectual training, as well as the temporal and spiritual interests, of multitudes of children.

2. It will break up many of the existing Sunday schools in Factory districts, by compelling the children to attend at church, though they never belonged to the church, had been neglected by the clergy, and had been for years in the Sunday-schools of Dissenters receiving Christian education.

3. It unjustly interferes with the rights of conscience, by taxing all, to build and sustain schools to teach the religion of one sect; with the freedom of parents, by compelling them to send their children only to schools authorised by the Bill; thus threatening with annihilation the voluntary and efficient labours of thousands of Sunday-school teachers, who at present exercise a great moral influence over the minds of tens of thousands of children in the factory districts.

4. It will expose the children, who at present are taught the simple truths of the Gospel, to the religious instructions of the clergy, among whom there is a rapid and extensive spread of errors, destructive to the souls of men.

5. It will greatly increase the difficulties with which the missionaries of this Society have to contend in sustaining their schools, if the principle of the Bill be carried out; for already many of the schools under their care are weakened and threatened with extinction, in consequence of the zealous and determined efforts of the clergy to take away the children by persecuting the parents. To give these men, therefore, legal authority to control the proposed schools is to damage the interests of religious liberty, and strengthen a power which is already too great for the good of the community.

6. That though there are some professions made in different clauses of the Bill, to the effect that the religious scruples of the parents will be respected, it would be an act of fatuity for any one to suppose that they can be of real use in the present temper of the clergy, and with the views they entertain of the wickedness of dissent, and the fearful crime of which parents are guilty, who send their children to any schools but to those of the Church.

III. For these reasons the Directors of the Home Missionary Society would enter their solemn protest against the bill, convinced that it has a direct tendency to defeat the professed object that the government has announced; as improperly interfering with the civil rights of masters, parents, and children; as injuriously affecting existing schools; and as elevating to a station of civil and religious dominancy a class of men who have never been anxious to promote enlightened education.

IV. That the Directors, therefore, consider it their duty to oppose, in every constitutional way, the present Bill, and to recommend to all the missionaries and pastors in connexion with the Society that petitions be immediately prepared for presentation to the House of Commons, praying that the Education Clauses be withdrawn from the Factory bill.

B. HANBURY, Chairman.

FACTORY EDUCATION BILL.

AT a MEETING of the SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION of Newport, Monmouthshire (comprehending, of schools, four congregational, two baptist, and one Wesleyan methodist), held in the vestry of the Tabernacle, on Friday evening, April 7, 1843, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Moved by the Rev. T. PARRY, seconded by the Rev. D. R. STEPHEN—

That this meeting views with anxiety, and deprecates the success of, those portions of Sir James Graham's pending bill which have just been read, and which relate to the education of children employed in factories; because,

1. The principle which this bill implies, and, as far as the factory districts are concerned, puts into effect, is the right of parliament to compel every parent, by heavy penalties, to send his children to the schools of the sect patronised by the state, and pay into the bargain. Admit the principle, and you utterly destroy freedom, both civil and religious, throughout the country.

2. The promised exemption in favour of parents who may object to their children's receiving church-of-England instruction is valueless; because,

(1.) No poor man, on forsaking the communion of the church of England, ought to be obliged to make an affidavit to church or state concerning the fact. On him the necessity must operate punitively, by his declaration provoking the antipathy of the parties to whom he will have to make it. Both principle and expediency, therefore, dictate his protection from circumstances so invidious.

(2.) The enactment requires that during the communication of religious instruction to conformist children, the children of the objectors shall be instructed in some secular branch of knowledge in a separate room; so allowing no time for the religious instruction at all of the children of nonconformists.

(3.) An inordinate demand is made on the confidence of the nonconforming public in the moderation and equity of a church who avows the love and the right "to have the pre-eminence" over all others; or even if no such avowal were made, the power itself which is sought to be vested would render any collective body whatsoever unworthy of the implicit confidence of men.

(4.) No person, however charitable, if he has been but observant of the recent conduct of churchmen (with some very honourable exceptions) can discover any guarantee for their future forbearance from legally victimising the dissenting poor.

3. The fitness of the teachers of schools, both existing and future, is to be judged by the parish clergyman, two churchwardens, and four trustees appointed by the justices of the peace; all these parties being subject to the approval of the bishop of the diocese. This measure will, as a matter of course, operate to the exclusion of every schoolmaster and schoolmistress who conforms not to the establishment. This evil is aggravated by the fact that the board, so exclusively constituted, will have to be supported mainly by the rate-payers; albeit, these have no control over the money expended, or the instruction which is given, whether it be heterodox, tractarian, evangelical, or whatsoever characteristic it may bear, among the innumerable diversities of opinion by which the country at large, and the church of England in particular, is agitated.

Moved by the Rev. W. THOMAS, seconded by Mr T. JONES—

That a petition be forthwith framed, in accordance with the foregoing resolution, for the signatures of the ministers, superintendents, and male teachers, connected with this Union:

Moved by Mr S. PHILLIPS, and seconded by Mr GRIFFIN—

That a separate petition be drawn for the female teachers.

Moved by the Rev. J. MATTHEWS, and seconded by Mr SALTER:—

That the foregoing resolutions be advertised in the *Nonconformist*.

Moved by Mr PHILLIPS, and seconded by Mr BACHELOR:—

That the petitions be entrusted for presentation, to R. J. Blewitt, Esq., and to Earl Ducie.

THOMAS GILLMAN, Chairman.

FACTORY EDUCATION BILL.

AT a crowded PUBLIC MEETING of SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS, and other Friends of CIVIL and RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, held at the BOROUGH ROAD CHAPEL, SOUTHWARK, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 5, 1843.

The Rev. JAMES SHERMAN in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by the Rev. GEORGE ROGERS, seconded by JOHN BROWN, Esq.

I. That this meeting deeming it of great importance that all classes of the community should enjoy the advantages of a religious and useful education, has carefully considered the Bill now before parliament, "For regulating the Employment of Children and Young Persons in Factories, and for the better Education of Children in Factory Districts," and regards that measure as not calculated to secure those advantages, being sectarian and highly oppressive in its spirit and tendency.

Moved by the Rev. SAMUEL GREEN, seconded by JOSEPH MAITLAND, Esq.

II. That the Bill appears to this meeting highly objectionable, for the following reasons:—

1. That it makes the employment of factory children, and consequently their means of support, dependent on their attending a particular class of schools, and will ultimately place their moral and religious training, either directly or indirectly, under the control of the clergy of the church of England.

2. That although there are exceptions in favour of some other schools, these exceptions are clogged with a condition rendering them of little value, inasmuch as they do not secure the freedom of the parent to superintend the education of his child, nor leave the factory master at liberty to procure juvenile labour from whatever source his judgment may best approve.

3. That in inflicting penalties on parents for the non-attendance of their children at the schools for even a single day; and also on masters for employing children whose school attendance shall not be duly certified, the said bill imposes an oppressive and intolerable burden.

4. That, in giving to a trustee the power of dismissing a child from school on the vague charge of misconduct, the Bill subjects the means of support, both of the child and of the family to which he belongs, to unlimited and intolerable caprice.

5. That the said bill creates a power hitherto unknown to the British constitution, of levying taxes without responsibility, either as to amount or application, and authorises the appropriation of the funds so raised to the support of a system of instruction against which many of the contributors conscientiously object.

Moved by W. H. WATSON, Esq.; seconded by the Rev. JOHN MORRIS:—

III. That the evils of this Bill are greatly augmented by its tendency to impair and ultimately to destroy an immense number of Sunday and other schools, where a religious and useful education has long been, and is now, conducted with advantages which no system like that which this bill proposes to establish can secure.

Moved by the Rev. W. THORN, of Winchester; seconded by HENRY ALTHANS, Esq.:—

IV. That a Petition, founded on the preceding Resolutions, be presented to the House of Commons, praying that the Educational Clauses of the said Bill may not pass into law; and that the following gentlemen do constitute a Committee for carrying the same into effect, and for watching the progress of the Bill in Parliament, with power to add to their number:—The Revds James Sherman, J. Stevenson, S. Green, G. Rogers, J. Morris; Messrs W. Gover, W. Howard, J. Gover, D. Pratt, John Francis, T. Green, James Sears, W. E. Beal, B. L. Green, W. Dickes, Mark Moore, Joseph Blades, T. P. Alder, and J. Maitland.

Moved by the Rev. Mr AUSTIN; seconded by the Rev. B. LEWIS.

V. That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Rev. J. Stevenson and his Deacons, for the use of the Chapel; and to the Rev. James Sherman for his kindness in presiding over the business of the evening.

J. GOVER, W. HOWARD, D. PRATT, } Secretaries of the South London Auxiliary Sunday School Union.

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